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## Near East/South Asia Report

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19 December 1985

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

CHALLENGES FACING GULF BANKS DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Oct 85 pp 24-29

[Article by Dr Henri 'Azzam: "A New Era For Gulf Banks"]

[Text] Several factors have contributed to the declining profit margins of Gulf banks, and can be summarized as follows: a decline in loan activity, an increase in the number of inactive loans, increasingly fierce competition, and greater interference from monetary and financial authorities. In addition, the increasing riskiness of loans has put greater pressure on these banks' revenues, at a time when competition on the international banking market has become more intense, with financial organizations working around the clock to provide services in this chaotic market. A new dawn is breaking for banking activity in the Gulf, requiring long-range structural changes in order to meet the challenges of the new economic and commercial environment.

From 1974 to 1982, Gulf banks expanded rapidly and made good profits by ensuring the needs of rapidly-growing economies. The governments were the basic catalyst for growth during this period, for the banks benefitted from the huge government expenditures.

However, during the past 2 years, the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] countries have seen a dramatic transition from the era of surpluses in their governments' balances of payments and budgets to an era of deficits in both areas. Current estimates indicate that oil revenues have dropped 40 percent from their 1980 level of US\$150 billion. The region is obviously experiencing a wave of tightening up and squeezing expenditures, as the GCC countries adjust to an era of declining oil revenues of indefinite duration.

This phase of tightening up and adjustment actually reflects the new prevailing regional economic situation. The drop in oil revenues has coincided with the end of the first phase of the development cycle and with the completion of the major part of the necessary infrastructure. Emphasis is now shifting to the industrial and services sectors, as well as to an attempt to make the economies more efficient. These developments are being accompanied by the private sector's being urged towards greater participation in the development process.

Central banks in the Gulf speak of the end of the era of unrestricted banking activity, easygoing practices, and imprecise accounting. The reorganizers are determined to introduce reforms in order to arrive at better guidelines for statements and to force the banks to review their loan policies, before the recent decline in the quality of their loan portfolios becomes troublesome. The stricter control which the central banks will apply is expected to be accompanied by more effective tools of monetary policy.

Changing business opportunities in the Gulf and overseas have led to the creation of an increasingly sophisticated financial services market, in the development of which the banks can be expected to help.

What is the future of banking activity in the Gulf? Will the banks be able to face the challenges? What changes must be made in order to develop integrated financial organizations?

#### Changing Business Opportunities In the Region

The continuing decline in regional growth has led to an overall falling-off in the rate of demand for financing. Guaranty activity, contract financing, and the financing of imports, which had made up about 70 percent of the banks' loan commitments, dropped sharply last year. At present, most of the demand for loans in these areas is taking the form of renewing credit granted previously. The regional banking milieu has become more inclined to experiment with bank resources, and the intensification of inter-bank competition to attract the fewer and fewer first-class clients has led to shrinking profit margins.

Good opportunities for commercial banking activity are not easy to come by, and much attention has been given to reducing expenditures. Much of the credit which had been considered sound in years past now arouses considerable caution and doubt. Similarly, the stagnation in the real estate and stock markets is reflected in the value of the collateral held by the banks. Gulf bankers, whose main concern in the seventies and early eighties had been directed towards increasing their assets, are today re-evaluating these assets, insisting on quality, looking for overseas opportunities, and specializing, be it in traditional commercial financing and investment, providing financial services, or managing investment portfolios.

The regional economic slow-down is likely to create cash flow difficulties, especially among inefficient companies and those suffering from poor management for some time. Many Gulf companies expanded quickly during the boom years, so much so that they had no time to build up organizational frameworks to maintain the volume of work they had. In the mere presence of technical skill, the money continued to flow, and everyone made a profit. In the seventies and early eighties, the management of money and liabilities did not seem very important. Thus some companies obtained construction loans which they diverted to financial and real estate operations, and others tied up their resources in domestic and foreign investments which were not necessarily bad, but which were hard to liquidate when necessary.



## Saudi Arabia

Influenced by local conditions and existing problems, the disturbances have taken different forms in different countries of the region. In Saudi Arabia, for example, the banks, concerned with increasing their share of the market, competed with each other during the boom years to attract more borrowers, many of whom are today having a great deal of difficulty repaying their loans. However, the banks cannot be sure that the courts would rule in their favor in case those borrowers defaulted; in the absence of a modern banking law, the courts, on the basis of Islamic Shari'ah principles, would return lawsuits involving interest.

Modern technology and high-cost training have had their effect on the banks' income. While these banks have been able to attract new deposits because they are opening more and more branches, they still show an unwillingness to commit more financing to a shrinking market which threatens them with further losses on their loans, and in which most new deposits are most likely being directed overseas.

## Bahrain

In Bahrain, the "offshore" banks have been affected by the stagnation prevailing throughout the Gulf and by the world market's shift from joint loan operations.

Construction bonds and guaranties are declining because most of the basic projects have been completed, and also because of either the postponement of construction of new projects or cutbacks in those projects because of the unavailability of the necessary funds. In 1984 in the GCC countries, the financing of imports from major exporting countries such as the United States, Japan, the United Kingdom and Germany also dropped by about 24 percent compared to 1982. Consumer demand has dropped as well. Confidence in the local economy was adversely affected by the Suq al-Manakh crisis in Kuwait and by the Gulf war between Iran and Iraq, which has gone on for 4 years; the Iraq-Iran war wiped out many banking opportunities in those two countries. Official policies and the increasing efficiency of local banks have helped reduce the offshore banks' ability to obtain a larger share of the available opportunities.

On the international scene, the joint loan market, which had been considered very profitable for Bahrain's banks, shrank, and the remaining operations lost their attractiveness. Many banks elected not to increase their assets because of reduced profit margins. Those banks with technical expertise began showing a tendency towards various other types of debt tools. As for liabilities, the reliance of offshore units in the Gulf on inter-bank financing operations left them exposed, for world banks were wary of increasing their risks in regions whose credit risks were felt to be increasing. The Arab offshore banks owned by individuals realized that they would never be able to continue supporting Bahrain-commissioned organizations unless they could attract more business. However, existing regional expectations, as well as the difficulty in obtaining a higher rate of return (more than 1:4), convinced these banks that they had to reformulate their strategy and concentrate more on their international sources of revenue.

## Kuwait

In Kuwait, even til now domestic problems have revolved around the collapse of the Suq al-Manakh, and falling prices for real estate and stocks pose a threat to the collateral held by the banks. However, the damage to the banks might not be all that serious, because of the vast hidden reserves built up, over the past 2 years, by a banking system which has been realizing big profits. The banks still have abundant fluidity and sufficient operating capital. Obviously, the big commercial banks and investment companies are assured of government support through their use of the Central Bank's discount window and its loan and exchange facilities. These banks' credit positions are still good, therefore, inasmuch as they are backed up by reduced risks in Kuwait.

There has been a basic shift in the Kuwaiti banking system, away from demand accounts, on which no interest is paid, to deposits to account and foreign currency accounts. In 1984, current accounts dropped steadily, at the rate of 25 percent, since investors showed little interest in speculating in real estate or stocks.

## The Emirates and Qatar

The main problem in the United Arab Emirates [UAE] and Qatar is the overabundance of banks. In the UAE there are 102 banks with 284 branches, serving a small population of not more than 1.3 million persons, while there are 10 foreign banks and five local banks in Qatar, competing for a small, limited volume of business. Without a doubt, changes in local and regional economic conditions has obviously affected the banks operating in these two countries.

Three UAE banks have faced various difficulties over the past 18 months, and liquidity problems have appeared in Qatar.

There will no doubt be more mergers in the future, and most likely the big banks resulting from these mergers will reduce their profile on the local market while expanding their operations on the international market.

## The International Challenge

The narrow basis of the local market, declining domestic loan opportunities, ambiguous legislation, and falling profit margins in commercial banking activity--all these factors have forced Gulf banks to expand into the world market in search of better opportunities.

Gulf banks feel that international expansion will complement their plans for growth, and that a foreign presence will improve sources of assets, which will enable them to directly penetrate the international market. Even though the Gulf banks do not have any multi-national companies which could lead the way to foreign markets, these banks' international expansion will help them to better meet their clients' foreign needs. Should the Gulf banks have a



strong presence in the principal financial capitals, Gulf organizations would be in a better position to ensure a wide range of investment advice and management services for their wealthy clients. Therefore, relations with major contractors working in the Gulf and with principal exporters to the region could be strengthened through the nearby presence of Gulf banks.

The Gulf banks' foreign presence will permit them to become directly involved in their mother countries' commercial activities, and will help them develop new sources of currency market deposits and create new opportunities for corporate loans from outside the region. The Gulf banks' favorable presence in the principal financial centers of the world would enable them to give the international companies the "privilege" of recognition in the Gulf region. In this way, these banks' international expansion would be a means of achieving their international prominence and facilitating foreign activity and the influx of trade into the region.

Most of the larger Gulf banks now have a foreign presence, some of them having opened branches and representatives' offices in London, New York, Singapore and Hong Kong, and others having expanded internationally by buying existing organizations. Bahrain's Arab Banking Corporation (ABC) has acquired 70 percent of the Banco Atlantico of Madrid and 75 percent of the Han Kee Bank of Hong Kong. The Bahraini Bank of the Middle East has acquired shares in a joint banking project in Switzerland, and is planning on investing US\$35 million in the Bank of America.

In their international operations, Gulf banks are suffering from the decline in the high-risk joint loan market, which has shrunk considerably in recent years. Whereas such loans had amounted to about \$96 billion in 1981, they had dropped to less than \$60 billion by 1982. Table No. 1 shows the growth in joint Arab loans from 1977 to the end of 1984, compared with the total volume of the credit market in European currencies. Over the past 4 years, Arab banks obtained 10 percent of all European loans. It should be pointed out that about 45 percent of European loans were to Arab borrowers, and are managed by Arab banks. International loans are becoming increasingly difficult, now that the emphasis has shifted to companies instead of high-risk loans. The issuance of bonds and securities, the financing of projects, and the management of portfolios requires more sophisticated banking activities than merely participating in high-risk joint loans.

The Gulf banks' proficiency in the capital market, particularly in the market for bonds, securities and certificates of deposit, is still quite modest. European loans, which until 1982 exceeded the European bond market by 2 to 1, have just about been balanced now, with difficulty; whereas in 1981 the volume of the European bond market was no more than \$53 billion, by 1984 it had exceeded \$80 billion. It is a candidate for continual medium-range growth, especially variable-interest notes, which offer the borrower greater liquidity. The Gulf banks are having difficulty in influencing this market, for the international banks and securities companies, which are good at arranging the issuance of notes, usually have relations with the borrowers, and have the necessary expertise to enable them to release complicated offers within

hours of receiving permission. They also have the force needed to succeed in investments. Experience in capital markets must be developed over a period of time, and Gulf banks might find it profitable and interesting to enter the advanced securities market in force.

The new dollar issues have been the most important part of the Gulf banks' activities on the European bond market. Within this sector, transactions are primarily limited to variable-interest securities, and quite often the principal directors of these operations have been the Arab Banking Corporation, the Saudi International Bank, the Gulf International Bank, and the Abu Dhabi National Bank. Arab participation in dollar issues has been limited to subscription or participation in the management of operations. The "Financial Group" has been the only Arab organization to manage such issues in the last 3 or 4 years.

Similar activity by Gulf banks has been observed on the market for bonds convertible into dollars. The Kuwaiti International Investment Corporation (KIIC) has managed issues of this type, and the primary Arab participants in such issues have been the KIIC, the Kuwait Investment Company, the Kuwaiti Foreign Investment, Trade and Contracting Company, the Saudi al-Ahli Commercial Bank, and the Financial Group.

So far, Arab banks in general and Gulf banks in particular have preferred finance operations in Western European countries; in 1983 loans to such countries accounted for 41 percent of all loans, rising to 48 percent in 1984. Loans to East Asian countries rose 10 percent in 1984, amounting to 27 percent of all loans (see Table No. 2). Last year, South America became the third area preferred by Arabs for loan activities, receiving 9 percent of all Arab financing, as opposed to 6.6 percent in 1983. Arab loans to East European countries approximately quadrupled in 1983, and the Middle East's share of Arab bank loans dropped from 8 percent in 1983 to 6 percent in 1984; however, that region stayed in fourth place in this respect.

Another aspect of international banking activity which is attracting more attention is trade financing. Several innovations have been introduced into this field, in particular discounted notes, barter trade, exchange sale, and transfer and clearing operations. The availability of future money markets will lead to the dawning of many new ideas and methods in this field. The Gulf banks have traditionally been strong in the commercial field, and in order to continue to benefit from this excellent opportunity they must come up with new ideas and continually interact with the market.

Increasing international competition is infiltrating the local Gulf market, and therefore the regional governments are finding it more and more difficult to protect their local organizations from this threat. In the era of electronic communications, the use of the computer, and the internationalization of banking services, foreign banks have been able to penetrate the Gulf market without necessarily having local offices. The Gulf banks need to constantly improve their services and to manage their assets and liabilities better, in order to face local and international challenges.

## The Future Picture For Banking Activity In the Gulf

Changing opportunities in the Gulf and abroad have contributed to a more difficult and complicated financial market, one to which the region's banks will presumably adjust. These banks will not just be dealing with clients facing liquidity problems, and the local monetary authorities' desire for control will become stronger. Furthermore, the banks will face more competition from foreign banks trying to penetrate the Gulf market. If the region's banks do not quickly try to follow the technological developments taking place on the international scene, they will find themselves left on the sidelines of banking activity, losing their best clients to banks such as Citicorp and others, which can provide complete international services while leaving no room for competition for any Gulf bank.

Nowadays there is a great deal of regional uncertainty as to market trends. It is obviously becoming increasingly difficult to obtain traditional banking business, for the slice of the good assets pie is constantly shrinking. Those banks which have decided to carry on, hoping for better regional conditions in the future, bear the risk of slow but sure downfall.

### The Future Is Not All Dark

But the prognosis is not all dark. At the present time, Gulf banks are considered the world's least indebted banks with respect to the make-up of their capital. In Kuwait, for instance, shareholders' rights (capital and reserves) account for approximately 18 percent of total credit facilities, as compared to 3 to 7 percent for international banks. In the Bahraini offshore banks, the capital to assets ratio is about 11 percent. This same rate is close to 10.6 percent for the top ten banks in the UAE, and is also high for local banks in other GCC countries. The loan to deposit ratio in the 11 Saudi commercial banks was only 55 percent in 1984. These indices show that the Gulf banks are capable of withstanding any temporary reversals in their countries' economies.

In the long run, the prognosis is not necessarily discouraging, provided that the Gulf banks are willing and able to adjust to prevailing regional and foreign opportunities and to build up the management depth needed to face coming challenges.

### Towards Third World Markets

Some people claim that the only way to grow is to look for overseas opportunities. However, competition on the international banking scene is so fierce as to make it difficult for new, unprepared banks to carry on. The possibility exists that the Gulf banks will try to expand in the direction of other Third World markets instead of London and New York, especially since the region has good trade relations with those markets. The Bank of Bahrain and Kuwait, for instance, opened a branch in Bombay last year, and is planning to open branches in Karachi and Istanbul. However, in general, Gulf banks will not find overseas expansion very profitable if they have no clientele to pursue and provide with overseas banking services.

Others claim that the way to grow is to expand trade financing. However, the volume of trade in the Gulf dropped more than 25 percent last year. If we take into consideration future projections for oil revenues, the trade financing field is not encouraging. The fierce competition anticipated among Gulf banks over the dwindling trade financing market will force these banks to look for new opportunities elsewhere in the world.

The governments want the commercial banks to expand their services to include smaller companies, and to grant long-term lines of credit to the industrial and agricultural sectors. At the present time, the small and medium-size companies of the region do not have a main source of financing; they were ignored in the past because of their relatively small volume of business and their high risks. The challenge now facing the banks lies in determining the worth of such credit clients and their ability to operate under the present conditions. If the risk appraisal is favorable and guaranteed, then this new loan opportunity will be extremely profitable.

Right now the Gulf banks are facing the challenge of responding to the needs of industry and agriculture, where the room for growth seems promising. However, these sectors' returns have a long-range nature.

In the absence of medium- and long-term funds and deposits, these banks will be unable to play a larger part in medium- and long-term financing. The imbalance between assets and losses is an obvious deviation from sound banking practices. If the local currency and capital markets are not developed enough to enable the banks to issue long- and medium-term instruments of debt, and if the laws are not amended to define the relationship between bank and borrower in case the latter fails to repay his debt, then the commercial banks will not be in a position to direct their funds towards long-range investments.

In addition to looking for new markets overseas and new opportunities at home, the Gulf banks, like their counterparts throughout the world, will gradually shift their emphasis away from commercial banking business towards investment and financial services. In the modern era of international finance, many knowledgeable depositors are withdrawing their deposits from the banks to invest them in securities in order to get more interest. At the same time, debtors, anticipating the time when their loans will come due, are looking to money markets, where they can get low-cost money. Therefore, loans on the European market are gradually shifting from bank loans to bonds. The Gulf banks could concentrate on European-Arab bond activities, benefitting from the strong relationship which exists between Arab borrowers and regional financial organizations.

The field of asset management has also seen rapid growth. Gulf banks and investment companies, as well as international financial organizations, are trying to diversify beyond the framework of loans, and to accelerate the move towards portfolio management and investment services. Some, such as Investcorp, are trying to play the part of international financial broker by ensuring high-quality investments for the Gulf market. In spite of its

relatively small role, the rapid growth of the private sector in the Gulf countries proves that it is attracting the attention of banks looking for ways to expand their domestic clientele. The merchant families which helped establish these countries' infrastructures have become very wealthy, and are looking for more sophisticated areas for investments. Gulf banks and investment companies could provide such persons with a kind of portfolio management as well as opportunities for direct investment in many parts of the world formerly inaccessible except through Western organizations. Thus the Gulf banks, because of their personal acquaintance with such individuals, would have a competitive advantage which would enable them to attract a great deal of money and acquire new fields of business.

There are some very good opportunities for Gulf banks to help medium-size companies in the region which are feeling the effects of the economic slowdown and which need guidance to restructure their budgets and reorganize their activities. The banks could provide the counseling services so necessary in this regard, and could, if these companies are basically in good condition, arrange for a re-scheduling of payments and grant additional credit and other facilities.

The banks could find it profitable to take greater risks in return for greater profit, and to shift over to ensuring specialized services.

If the banks were to retain employees specialized in such areas as trade, planning, financing, investment, industry and contracting, to work as advisors providing the advice their clients need, they could generate more business in the next few years.

The Gulf banks' long-range success depends, therefore, on their ability either to specialize in certain fields or to develop and become full-service organizations capable of providing investment and counseling services and financing trade-related activities, as well as traditional commercial banking services. Many of these banks have actually begun diversifying and expanding their fields of activities to include corporate financing, real estate development, management of portfolios, capital projects, leasing credits, mergers and acquisitions, negotiable securities, direct investment, financial futures, and counseling services, in order to ensure such services for the Gulf banks, so they can either build up their domestic expertise or acquire existing specialized companies in world financial centers.

From the standpoint of volume, the Gulf banking sector has grown surprisingly over the past decade, and the coming period will probably be characterized by slower growth, since successful banking activity during that period will depend on well-thought-out decisions and strategic planning. In an almost saturated market, the emphasis will be on flexibility, proficiency in banking technology, the provision of specialized services, and the ability to develop into organizations offering a broader range of services and capable of responding to the needs of a changing market.



The Gulf private sector's needs for investment and counseling services; international expansion, especially in developing countries with which the Gulf countries have strong commercial ties; Arab-Arab loans on the European bond market; and ensuring the loan needs of small and middle-sized regional companies--all these are basic fields in which major banking opportunities can be expected.

If the Gulf banks want to stay in business, they need to review their structure and organization, to adopt modern developments, to use computers in their banking services, and to acquire a human administrative staff highly trained in banking activities and capable of responding to the changing environment. While trade and contract financing requires traditional banking expertise, the new banking fields call for a more specialized set-up and a new administrative structure to facilitate organization and to reinforce the decision-making process. The fierce competition and the tendency of the market to shift towards commercial banking activity requires time for more rapid experimentation. Similarly, providing a sophisticated management and a staff well-trained in financial services might be more important than the bank's capital.

The banks are well aware that the maturation process cannot be achieved without reviewing their overall strategy. In times of economic difficulty, long-range planning will be useful in helping the banks succeed in a harsh, competitive environment and claim their share of the local, regional and foreign markets.

Regional monetary authorities are calling on the banks to merge, in order to prepare themselves for a stronger competitive role in the world market in the long run. The amalgamated banks will be able to diversify their activities, acquire a larger capital-asset base, combine their limited management talents, and in general become stronger financial organizations.

The directives issued recently by the Gulf central banks will help strengthen confidence in the banking system, and will reassure local depositors and international financial authorities that the Gulf banks are under strong control and are being professionally managed.

Table 1. Participation by Arab Banks in Joint Loans

<u>Year</u>	<u>Loans in European Currencies</u> <u>(in billions of dollars)</u>	<u>Arab Banks</u> <u>(percent of total)</u>	<u>Arab Banks</u> <u>(billions of dollars)</u>
1977	41.77	0.95	2.27
1978	70.18	2.32	3.31
1979	82.81	2.49	5.01
1980	77.39	3.58	4.69
1981	96.38	9.10	9.44
1982	82.51	9.80	11.50
1983	60.66	6.94	11.44
1984	59.48	6.33	10.64

Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, as cited by Hikmat Nashashibi in EUROMONEY of May 1985

Table 2. Regional Distribution of Arab Loans, 1984

<u>Region</u>	<u>Total volume</u> <u>(in dollars)</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Issues</u>	<u>Bonds</u> <u>(dollars)</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Issues</u>	<u>Loans</u> <u>(dollars)</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Issues</u>
Europe	18822.8	107	6841.2	59	11381.6	48
Asia-Pacific	10251.2	97	2832.9	50	7418.3	47
North America	3325.0	18	1875.0	13	1450.0	5
Middle East	2252.1	32	395.0	4	1857.1	28
East Europe	1622.9	10	20.0	1	1602.9	9
Africa	1559.7	7	600.0	1	959.7	6
Various						
Countries	596.5	10	596.5	10	-	-
Latin America	75.0	1	-	-	75.0	1
The Group	48.9	1	-	-	48.9	1

Source: INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR, June 1985, p 219

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EGYPT

PLANE HIJACKING FORCES EGYPT TO SEEK OTHER OPTIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 21 Oct 85 p 82

[Article by Dr 'Ali al-Din Hilal: "Does Egypt Have an Option?"]

[Text] The people and ordinary citizens have a right to feel angry, hurt, and bitter following the Egyptian plane hijacking.

But it is the duty of the officials, the educated elite, and those who steer public opinion to go beyond the expression of anger to contemplate the state of our affairs. How did we get to this situation? What can we do? How can we change the situation? What options do we have?

It appears that the prevalent idea in American press and political circles is that Egypt has no choices or options and that this state of affairs reflects the nature of economic and military relations between the two countries. This notion is conveyed by the press correspondents who met with me this week seeking my reaction, as a citizen, to what happened.

Undoubtedly this notion is the result of specific economic and political orientations and a pattern in the relations between the two countries. I believe that the recent incident is a warning or an indicator urging us, without recklessness or impetuosity, to reexamine these orientations and deal with them in light of their results and consequences.

Is it not the public's right, for instance, to demand an evaluation of the performance and feasibility of American economic aid to Egypt and to call upon our scientific and research agencies to assess the real benefit the Egyptian economy is reaping from this aid which is actually much less than the declared amount, if we take into account the interest and payment of military debts, the difference in the prices of American goods we are forced to buy and the prices of similar goods produced in South Korea or Japan, for example, and the salaries of the many advisors we see around us, etc.

The importance of such an assessment is that some are of the opinion that the Egyptian economy will collapse overnight if American aid is disturbed in any way. Some say that with every sunrise Egypt consumes \$20 million in aid which carries with it consequences and effects. So what price American aid? And can the Egyptian economy do without it and how many years would that take? Apart from the plane incident, these questions must be raised for it is a grave political mistake to imagine that this aid will go on ad infinitum!



And is it not the public's right, for instance, to ask for an assessment of the policy of American arms sales to Egypt and the kind and number of weapons available to us, and to compare them with what Israel gets from America and what Syria and Libya get from the Soviet Union and how this affects the regional balance of power in the area?

And is it not the public's right, for instance, to ask for a reexamination of the economic directions which leads to a higher demand for the dollar and more dependence on the outside? We have the right to demand that, and this right stems from Egyptian interests, Egyptian security, and Egyptian dignity.

The crime some writers and journalists are committing nowadays is that they present the matter as though it were a choice with an American or a Soviet option or they debate the issue as though our fate, from which there is no redemption, were a choice between subjection to one superpower or the other.

This is totally unacceptable logic.

The option we want is the Arab-Egyptian option stemming from the dictates of our national and pan-Arab interests.

Propriety eluded the Egyptian elite when it looked often and long to outside its border and relied on backing and support from this or that country while neglecting to make comparable efforts to exploit, mobilize, and activate domestic energies and resources.

Propriety eluded this elite when it repeated before public opinion that 99 percent of the cards were in the hands of a foreign power.

And propriety eluded it when it promoted emigration to the Gulf and the oil countries as a solution to the Egyptian economic problem instead of turning to domestic reform as a solution.

We say to ourselves and the outside world that Egypt has options.

Egypt's freedom of movement is still there and is possible and likely should Egypt wish to exercise it. A superpower which acts as though it has tightened its grip around this country is sadly mistaken for neither does it understand the history and psychology of this people nor has it learned from recent mistakes.

It is true that each option has a price with it, but when it comes to Egypt's dignity and to a country's sovereignty and security, no price is too high.

And who says that people's high hopes and dignity are measured by the logic of cheap profit and illicit gains.

Yes, we do have options and this is a topic for another article.

EGYPT

CALL FOR RESPONSE TO AMERICAN, ISRAELI ACTIONS

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 28 Oct 85 pp 36-39

[Commentary by Mahmud Murad: "A Call for a Trial of America and Israel ... and a Call for Unity"]

[Text] I do not believe that anyone has forgotten the exciting scene when former American president Lyndon Johnson held a news conference in the oval office of the White House, putting his feet up on the desk and stretching them toward the journalists and the lenses of the photographers and television cameras, which transmitted the picture to the whole world.

I think that the image of the American--no matter what happens in the United States in the way of amazing progress and the push into space--does not go beyond that of the "cowboy" wearing jeans, riding a horse and wearing a belt around his waist with one or more six-shooters, and wearing the traditional hat on his head and shouting out a mixture of hysteria and Indian cries.

This American image is consistent with the behavior of former president Johnson, and also embodies the essence of "the American," whether he be a cowboy, an oil-well owner or president of a great nation. It also embodies the American attitude that rejected the devout peanut farmer Jimmy Carter and that produced Ronald Reagan, who appeared forcefully, put a wide belt around his waist, stretched to his full height, tightened the skin of his wrinkled face and pulled from the archives a picture from the past, when he was an actor in western movies, riding a horse, wearing jeans and shouting.

Certainly, the Americans had justifications for electing Reagan, since he returned to the United States the prestige it had lost in the morass of what is called the American hostage crisis in Iran and other situations that had shaken the American administration in the days of Carter. These justifications, and others, are none of our affair; rather, it is none of our affair if Reagan was or was not produced, particularly if we recognize that, whether the American president is a "peanut farmer" or a "cowboy," for good or bad, there is a lower limit beyond which the ruling administration of even the United States can not go if tried by a president who acts openly--such as John Kennedy, who was destined to be killed in a series

of dramatic American adventures, the truth of which perished with him. To our knowledge, even now no one has been able to ascertain whether the Central Intelligence Agency arranged the assassination of Kennedy because he did not listen to its ideas and submit to its policy, or whether the steel-workers' union did it because the president threatened the industry's playboys and their people, or whether Zionism arranged it because Kennedy opened up towards the Arabs (particularly by an exchange of letters with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir) and began to understand the truth, or whether all of these organizations entered into an alliance to get rid of the youthful open president.

The American presidency--no matter how high the level of the universities and specialized institutes that draw up studies, solutions and alternatives for it rise--is an institution founded on the "essence" of the cowboy mentality that defeated and exterminated the red Indians, discovered oil and became rich. It looks at the whole world as if it is prey which must inevitably submit to it, accept its orders and behavior without discussion.

Thus--in accordance with this understanding--the American administration and Ronald Reagan behaved in the Italian ship incident and his situation of hi-jacking the Egyptian civilian airliner and forcing it to land in Italy, disregarding international law, civil aviation law and the principles of human rights. And, even more importantly, without regard for Egypt, the friend who strives for peace in the region and speaks warmly of the American role.

#### Mubarak's Steps and Their Significance

Because of this understanding of the American mentality and its interwoven interests, which will absolutely never agree completely with Egyptian interests, we were wary of throwing ourselves into the American embrace during the days of the late president Anwar al-Sadat, and we still support the steps of President Husni Mubarak, because we perceived, with certainty, the extent of his desire for Egyptian welfare and Egyptian honor and his understanding of the United States. He did not say that 99 percent of the cards are in American hands. Instead, he gave it an important role and announced that the most important role is in Arab hands. He said this in an American press conference. We noted it here at the time, and that he had an eye on Egyptian public opinion and on the anger of the Egyptian man-in-the-street. This is what he announced, to preserve Egyptian honor:

1. Cancellation of the joint Egyptian-American military maneuvers that had been scheduled for this coming December.
2. The necessity of a public American apology to the Egyptian people for the offensive hijacking of the Egyptian airliner.

This is President Mubarak's position. The popular demonstrations that broke out in his support and his support by all political tendencies call for a united Egyptian position, which, praise God, is present, so that the president is supported in all of his steps. They also call for a united Arab position by those who boast of Arab might and honor.

I do not for one moment doubt the unity of the Egyptian front.

But I doubt greatly the united Arab position, in spite of its importance, not for Egypt, but for the present and future of the Arab nation. Perhaps I am saying that advantage must be taken of this opportunity immediately.

Why ... and how?

If we go back to 1973, we will find that the Arab nation was totally defeated and splintered, an object coveted by any aggressor. Among the Arabs themselves, there were some who doubted the ability of the Arabs to get over this Arab destruction. Some said that we must admit that we are small states, not at all on equal standing, and that we must submit to one of the two super powers, either the Soviet Union or the United States. Some said that we should choose neutrality, not in the sense of non-alignment, which is really a bias toward freedom and liberation, whether in our nation or elsewhere, but in the sense of a negative neutrality, that we should withdraw into ourselves, and have nothing to do with anyone and no concern whether we were under the protection of a large state ... and that we should become a source of natural resources and a consumer market, the important thing being that we guarantee peace. Thirdly, some said that we should become states, that is, not a united Arab nation. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as it wanted, became an Islamic center, tied to the American wheel. It put \$25 billion in American banks as a deposit which--according to a legal agreement between the two countries--could not be withdrawn for 25 years, and with the condition that it be done, when done, gradually, and it deposited many other billions without an agreement, to take part in the stability and growth of the American economy, providing opportunities for domestic projects and work in the United States. And when Syria wanted to establish ties with the Soviet Union, never mind. It was raising the socialist and pan-Arab unionist slogans that it wanted. At the same time that it was opening up, it was slaughtering Palestinians!

And so on and so on. There were some--fortunately just a few--who expressed the opinion that Egypt should turn north, across the sea, to Europe, to drive to connect the two civilizations, the ancient Egyptian and the contemporary European, there being no need to turn east, west or south towards the Arabs or Africans.

Opinions in this period even went so far as to blame Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, directing accusations at him because he carried the banner of Arab pan-Arabism and fanned the flames of freedom and liberation in the Arab nation and the African continent.

The Sixth Force ... and Deception

Then the October 1973 war came and the picture changed completely. The Arabs attacked--and in spite of a defect here or there, and attitudes that were not up to the level of the great, noble event--the Arabs affirmed, with Egyptian will and blood, their honor and courage. They faced the world from a position of, if not complete unity, homogeneity. And, moreover,

the price of oil rose, from which they profited, and the strategic experts said that the Arabs had become a sixth force in the world.

This was true.

Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah said in a recent television talk commemorating the 6th of October that this saying aimed at the deception and warning of the Arabs. I agree with him about the game of "betrayal and warning: that actually succeeded. But this does not mean that we are not qualified to be the sixth force, not by the amount of arms we possess but by the will added to them and by petroleum, mineral and natural resources, whether below or above ground, such as agriculture, in addition to the strategic location, the water passages (the Suez Canal and the Bab al-Mandab) and the rivers and oceans that shelter the Arab nation--as well as the Roman and ancient civilizations--if we take note of their use and benefit.

This was possible ... but the game of deception and warning succeeded.

Its success was aided by tendencies of jealousy by Egypt, the struggle to frustrate the victory and an attempt to remove Egypt's leadership. The situation intensified, even to the handling of the relationship with Israel, ending in Camp David. Although I am not one who supports Camp David, but, rather, who rejects it, not just now but in the second half of the seventies, and suffered because of my position, I nevertheless ask:

If the attack on Camp David can be traced to the fact that it does not give the Palestinian people their right, as is required and throws us into the American embrace, which is subordinate to Israeli Zionism, are all of the Arab countries working, and have they worked, to serve and support the Palestinian struggle and to take a strong stand towards the United States?

The Determinism of History and Bourguiba

I will not answer. I will abstain from answering, to say that the Arab governments have pursued their desire to torture the Arab soul and attempt to kill the Arab identity.

I say "attempt" because I believe in the determinism of history and that a day will come when the people will overthrow their rulers, who are false, who inflict pain, who conspire, and who are worse and more impious than the enemy!

For example ... for example ... for example ... Habib Bourguiba, the president of Tunisia, a freedom fighter who has a famous history of struggle against French colonialism.

The man was subjected to banishment, expulsion and exile. He came to Egypt and lived various places. We have heard from the old men how the fighting revolutionary was humble, leaving his home in the morning with "the authorities" to purchase his breakfast of beans, which he liked.



When the situation allowed, he returned to his country and assumed the government. He still, because God grants it, is alive. But in 1964 he announced that the Arabs must make peace with Israel. All of the Arabs were angry with him, but he held fast to his opinion. He repeated his words after 1967, gloating. He said to whomever he met: "Didn't I tell you?"

Some explained his position by saying that the old freedom fighter had become weary and wanted an amicable solution to problems. But he said that his opinion was a result of his experience. Thus it was strange when he took a position against peace with Israel, that is, against implementation of the idea for which he has called. And even more so when he asked that Arab League headquarters be set up in Tunisia and when he made Tunisia the headquarters for the PLO.

Bourguiba was agitated when Israel attacked and blew up the PLO headquarters. He was extremely agitated, even though he knew completely that the United States supports Israel ... and even though the headquarters of the PLO were his ... and even though he gave permission to the Egyptian airliner carrying the hijackers of the Italian ship and a PLO representative to land in Tunisia so that the PLO could try the hijackers and prove to the whole world that it is against terrorism, then retracted permission when the plane was in the air and informed the American authorities of its movements. Ouch!

Is this matter comprehensible?

All of the evidence, indications, and information that have come to light confirm this. In my opinion--as well as all of all the objective analyses of what happened--the hijacking of the Egyptian airliner had, among others, three very important goals:

1. Miscarriage of the peace process. It was destined to come to light that Israel does not want a "just peace," but a peace according to its calculations.
2. Causing the PLO to miss the opportunity to demonstrate to the whole world that it was able to try the hijackers at a high level level ... and that it was against terrorism ... and that it would not carry out its operations outside Israel.
3. Confirmation that American power emanates from the American cowboy mentality. This, because, as President Husni Mubarak said, the operation was not in fact heroic. Any state can send war planes to force a civilian airliner to land. Real heroism is saving 400 people and a large ship and its crew, but this was cowboy mentality and reckless calculation!

#### A Trap of the News Agencies

Yes, it was incorrect calculation, even if it was issued from the White House by all of its senior advisers, because they are human and can be mistaken just as they can be right. They were mistaken because they overly

inclined and submissive to the influence of the Zionists, who control the major companies and banks where they worked before getting their official positions and which they keep their eyes on to join following their official positions.

This same influence has control over the mass media, the press, the radio and television stations and the news agencies. The disaster--as I said in a previous article in AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI--is that we Arabs have fallen into the trap of these media and these same news agencies. It is obvious and distressing that all of our media are separated by large distances and that they talked about the American Jew who was on the Italian ship ... did he die or was he killed, who killed him, who threw him into the sea and stories more like a police series, although a prominent member of the Arab-American community, Alex Odeh, was killed during a demonstration in Washington protesting the hijacking of the Egyptian plane. The American Jewish Defense League announced its responsibility for the event. In spite of this, we did not broadcast or publish the news as is necessary. We did nothing, to the extent that many did not focus on it because the news agencies broadcast only a few stories about it.

So, what is to be done?

At the official Egyptian level, we support President Husni Mubarak's position completely, we call for a halt to outbidding and for support for him in every way, and we call for a united Arab position.

At the Arab level--along with our call for a united Arab position--we call for work on three points:

1. We call on Chedli Klibi, the secretary general of the Arab League, to call the League council to an immediate meeting to discuss developments in the region, whether the Israeli raid on Tunisia or the hijacking of the Egyptian plane.
2. We call on the Arab governments to declare a moratorium on their differences and to seize the opportunity to confront the unexpected danger whose features have emerged.
3. We call on the Arab people to declare their strong condemnation of what happened and demand that America apologize publically to the Arab people.

#### Arab Human Rights

Perhaps I call on the Arab Organization for Human Rights, not to issue an official statement of condemnation of what happened, but to convene a trial of the United States and Israel, to bring two specific charges against them: the attack on PLO headquarters and the hijacking of the Egyptian airliner. The judges will be thinkers, politicians and lawyers from the Arab nation and the non-aligned states, from Europe and from the United States of America itself.

As I picture it, this trial will be a great and wonderful opportunity. It falls within the jurisdiction of the Arab Organization for Human Rights, which is moved by the mere arrest and attack on an Arab citizen, while this was the honor of all Arabs that was subjected to arrest and immoral and illegal crimes. The judicial inquiry, public exposure and condemnation of the aggressors is necessary.

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EGYPT

#### COMMENTATOR CRITICIZES PERES INITIATIVE

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 4 Nov 85 pp 10-11

[Article by 'Abd-al-'Aziz Khamis: "Sharon's Suggestion That Sason Presented in Cairo!"]

[Text] A concept that I decisively maintain in view of the recent consecutive events, starting with the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement to act jointly within the framework of what was called the Jordanian-Palestinian initiative and after the failure of all the attacks aimed at aborting this initiative, is that Israel has decided to blow up the whole peace drive and to shuffle the cards anew with American approval and the help of certain Arab parties.

This may explain the aggression against Tunisia through whose planning and execution Israel aimed at sending more than one message to the parties concerned with the Middle East issue:

First: That Israel considers Arafat to be its primary enemy and that it can reach him and his headquarters wherever they are.

Second: That Tunisia or any other Arab countries that embrace the PLO and the Arab League are within reach of Israel's long arm.

I mention here the fact that Sason, the Israeli ambassador in Cairo conveyed to the former prime minister, Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali during the evacuation of the Palestinians from Beirut, a message from Israeli Minister Sharon, the butcher of Sabra and Shatila, stating that Israel did not object to having the new headquarters of the PLO in Cairo. But Cairo understood the vicious dimensions of the Israeli offer, which was to create incongruities and crises between Egypt and the Palestinian resistance, and to play havoc with these incongruities to deepen Arab differences. That is why Cairo did not care about the Sharon proposal and refused even to discuss it.

You can imagine with me what could have happened if Egypt had accepted the Israeli bait and become the headquarters of the PLO? Would the existence of the PLO on Egyptian soil have guaranteed the prevention of aggression against it? What would have been the size of the Egyptian reaction if the aggression had occurred against the PLO headquarters in Egypt, as it did

in Tunisia, in spite of the fact that the PLO moved to Tunisia with American approval, or to be more precise, with implicit Israeli approval?

The proposals presented by Peres in his address to the United Nations cannot be separated from the recent events starting with the criminal Israeli raid against Tunisia and the strange American position toward the Egyptian plane that transported the four Palestinians who hijacked the Italian cruise liner.

There is a consensus that if the recent Peres proposals were presented in a climate other than the currently prevailing one they would have been interpreted, internationally, as a retreat or a sign of Israeli weakness.

It is true that Jordan declared its insistence on convening an international conference to solve the Middle East crisis provided that the concerned parties, including the PLO, participate in it, under the supervision of the United Nations.

President Mubarak discussed Peres' initiative with King Husayn during their last meeting in Amman, Jordan, and stated: "We are studying the good facets of this initiative but we have reservations about other points and till we are through studying it, I cannot comment on it."

King Husayn emphasized in his declarations Jordan's commitment to the Rabat summit resolutions which consider the PLO to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

However, this does not preclude the necessity of deep research and study of the aspects of the Peres proposals whose declared six principles are:

--Attaining peace treaties between Israel and the Arab states, and also solving the Palestinian problem through negotiations.

--No preconditions imposed by any party.

--That negotiations should be based on resolutions 242 and 338 as well as the other proposals submitted by the other parties.

--That there be direct negotiations between the States.

--That negotiations may be initiated with the help of an international forum as agreed upon by the negotiating states.

--That negotiations may begin before the end of the current year in Jordan, or Israel, or any other place agreed upon.

We should not reject all the contents of Peres' initiative from A to Z. We must discard the word 'no' which we have adopted as our traditional response to everything declared by an Israeli politician, especially as it has been found that it is not compatible with the flexibility and diplomacy which we should adhere to at this stage.

How can we respond with a decisive, forbidding 'no' at a time when Peres says, "The permanent members of the UN Security Council might be invited to support the negotiations," even though he quickly adds that "countries who confine their diplomatic relations to one side of the conflict exclude themselves from assuming such a role." This was a clear signal to the Soviet Union.

How can we respond with a decisive, forbidding 'no' when Peres left the door opened to the possibility of conducting negotiations between Israel and Palestinians who have a relationship with the PLO, saying that "Israel is not concerned with the life pattern of persons or their past"?

Peres' proposals are in reality an important concession and a step towards the search for peace if we take into consideration:

1 - That the Jordanian-Palestinian initiative created a sort of confusion in the Israeli and American circles, even in some Arab political circles like Syria.

2 - That the direct Israeli American reaction to this initiative was an attempt to abort it, which explains the Israeli raid against Tunisia and the attempt to exacerbate the crisis in the region when the American military planes intercepted the civilian Egyptian plane which was transporting the Palestinians who had hijacked the Italian cruise liner.

3 - That the failure of the abortion attempt prompted Israel, in agreement with the American Administration, to assume some flexibility, which appeared in the Peres proposals included in his address to the United Nations.

I ponder here, when has Israel ever taken the United Nations into its consideration so as to submit proposals for peace and a peaceful solution from its rostrum?

Finally I submit that I expect an escalation of activities in the future in search of an Israeli American position progressing towards peace which can be used as an ace in the hand of Reagan, the American president, when he meets with Gorbachev in the second half of next November.

But this is not inconsistent with what we mentioned in previous commentaries-- that the American Israeli strategy will remain as it is, based on the following pillars:

1 - Commitment to Camp David.

2 - Commitment to the American Israeli promises given by Kissinger during President Nixon's administration.

3 - Commitment to the Strategic Alliance.

4 - Insistence on the non-establishment of a Palestine state.

5 - Continuation of offering economic and military aid to Israel.

6 - Commitment that any peace negotiations are in Israel's interest.

EGYPT

PALESTINIAN MOTIVATIONS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 Oct 85 p 14

[Commentary by Anis Mansur]

[Text] It is unreasonable that we should ask someone who is angry, resentful and outraged to be reasonable. It is unwise for you to tell someone who has no land or country to settle down where he is. It is impossible for the Palestinian not to get angry, for the blood not to boil in his veins, and for him not to feel embittered towards all those who have land and a nation, whose nations have borders and whose homes have doors. If one of these Palestinians looks around, his eyes turn into fingers searching through his clothing for weapons. So what if we disarm him? Will not his tongue be a sword, his fingers daggers, and his prayers curses against the world, and against the Arabs before all others?

If a bomb flies by him, and an explosive device blows up and a martyred girl is blown apart in a mined car, it would be difficult for you to be an impartial judge; indeed it would be impossible for you to be a judge when you are a party to this issue, and legal fundamentals state: The judge cannot sit in judgment when he is involved. In other words, he cannot pass judgment when he knows and dreams and is one of the soldiers defending the Palestinian cause. But--a million buts--we will lose everything if we continue to defend a legitimate right through illegitimate means. If angry Palestinians kill innocent people while they are aiming only at the occupying invaders of Arab land, and if they destroy a home in Rome, a palace in Paris and a yacht in Cyprus, then even this that I am saying will not be accepted. I know that, but what is to be done if the Arabs are impotent, divided, their unity shattered? What is to be done if they abandon their case, and before all else reject the court and the lawyer who is to plead their case, and indeed if they have not even now given that attorney the authority to do so!?

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EGYPT

# TUNIS RAID FORCES REVIEW OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 7 Oct 85 p 82

[Article by 'Ali al-Din Hilal: "Israeli Aggression and October Contemplations"]

[Text] The Israeli raid on Tunis provided me with an appropriate avenue for the topic about which I had intended to write this week.

I had it in mind to salute the men who crossed the Suez Canal this time 12 years ago, tearing down the Bar-Lev Line and bringing down with it the grid of fear and lack of confidence, thus restoring self-respect and power to an entire nation.

I had in mind to compare two dates: 6 October 1973 and 6 October 1985 so that we may contemplate together what happened on these two dates in Egypt and the region.

In 1973, the Egyptian people stood united as one man on the battlefield in close unity with Syria, backed by a broad front which offered them aid and assistance. In 1985, the brothers went their own way, fighting one another in the most vicious way and directing their struggle against each other's hearts while the enemy set out to achieve its goals unwatched and undeterred.

In 1973, the Egyptian will to fight sparkled like the edge of the sword and generations of Egyptian university graduates endured from 1967 to 1973 life in the desert and the barracks, waiting and getting ready. This will united the Egyptian people around a lofty national goal, which was liberation of the land and restoration of honor and dignity.

In 1985 the public goal had taken a back seat, giving way to private and minor goals. The major plan fell back and the many personal plans advanced. And whereas public plans evoke feelings of altruism, cooperation, and unity, personal plans incite rivalry and personal gain.

In 1973, Israel shrunk to its normal size and tasted the bitterness of defeat at certain military locations. It saw its men on TV as prisoners lined up under Egyptian guards. In 1985, Israel reverted to the "long arm"

policy, so often mentioned by Rabin when he was chief of staff, which contends in essence that Israel can reach any Arab capital. Indeed, Israel attacked Baghdad in 1981, occupied Beirut in 1982, and committed aggression against Tunis in 1985.

In this context, we pause before the raid on Tunis which Israel says was in retaliation for the assassination of three Israelis in Cyprus, allegedly carried out by men said to belong to a so-called "Force-17" which is run by the PLO. Unfortunately, the Arab mass media bought this allegation and a number of writers and journalists began talking about "Force-17" as though it actually existed, even though such a name is unfamiliar to the Arabic language and to Arab military terms which do not use numbers in military unit designations. The fact is that this name reminds me of Division 101 of the Israeli army which Sharon commanded in the fifties and which committed, for example, the Kfar Qasam massacre.

Israel wants to tell us today that it has a long arm in the region and that every Arab must realize that he is not safe, no matter how great the distance separating him from Israel.

It also wants to tell us that peace in the region must be achieved under such conditions and in the shadow of a political and military imbalance between the two sides.

It wants to explain to us as well that America will stand by its side to the very end and, therefore, it is not strange for the White House to justify the Israeli raid as an exercise of the right to legitimate self-defense.

It wants to tell us, in short, that we have no choice but the Israeli option and that it can ruin any chance for peace if it feels it is not achieving its objectives.

We will not tire of reiterating that what is needed is not a temporary or hasty decision adopted in the heat of anger nor statements of condemnation and denunciation, for all this does not change the objective facts.

What is needed is a return to fundamentals to realize that any negotiations reflect the balance of power between the negotiating parties. We must seek to ascertain a universal strategic attitude that takes into account developments in the region and their effect on Egyptian and Arab security.

This is the true salute to the October heroes and to the glorious October memory.

12502/12781  
CSO: 4504/81



EGYPT

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND MEASURES DEFENDED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 7 Oct 85 p 7

[Article by Dr Ahmad Sa'id Duwaydar]

[Text] It has been widely reported that the International Monetary Fund imposes austerity on its member nations through consolidation (economic adjustment) programs, but the fund believes that this is an incorrect conception for a number of reasons, beginning with the fact that economic adjustment is inescapable, for no-one who is born can live out his life with what exceeds his personal resources. Secondly, adjustment in the understanding of the International Monetary Fund does not mean economic recession or reduction, for the economic growth rate in Latin America had begun to fall before the fund intervened in any of these countries.

Thirdly: While these programs entail sacrifices, austerity attributable to adjustment must be compared to the alternatives, for if the appropriate measures are not taken to bring about a foreign balance and impose more control on national balances and credit, what can be expected with respect to employment and growth?

Doubtless the consequences with respect to economic activity and employment would then be more severe than would be the case if these measures were taken.

The fourth reason is embodied in the fact that criticism is often directed to programs of the fund because they affect the least populous sectors. However, the government can protect these groups by passing resolutions regarding the distribution of disbursements. In that case, the International Monetary Fund cannot put pressure on the government in defining its priorities, nor can it dictate social and political goals to an independent, sovereign government.

Egypt has strong ties to the International Monetary Fund. When the text of the Breton Woods agreement went into effect in December 1945, Egypt became a charter member of the fund with a share equaling \$45 million, and in 1945 one Egyptian pound was equivalent to \$4.132. The share continued to increase until it reached the equivalent of 463.4 units of special drawing rights in April 1984. Likewise, the parity rate of the Egyptian

pound continued to decline to about \$1.40 (the rate of the Commercial Bank is about \$.80, and the rate in the free market is \$.60).

Perhaps the most important relationship between Egypt and the fund has to do with the consultations pertaining to the consolidation programs. The first of these consultations took place in 1962 and ended with the devaluation of the Egyptian pound by 25 percent. There were also consultations which took place in 1975 which ended with the equivalency rate of the Egyptian pound being reduced in 1976 by 79 percent in two stages. Over the past 4 years, consultations have taken place between the Egyptian government and a delegation from the fund regarding arrangements for the consolidation program, but so far agreement has not been reached between the two sides.

The main aspects of this program can be summarized as follows:

1. Complete standardization of exchange rates so that all transactions will take place at a rate that will be set beginning from realistic level, then adjusted afterwards in light of objective economic standards, while restrictions on imports are being reduced.
2. Making fundamental increases, before or during the implementation of the program, in the prices of local agricultural purchases and in the prices set by public sector firms so that costs will be covered and the prices of local production will be stimulated over a period of 8 years.
3. Strengthening the position of the public budget over what it was for the fiscal year 1985-86 by limiting expenditures and introducing tax measures in order to increase the flexibility of the revenue system and improve the effectiveness of investments.
4. Adjusting the structure and level of interest rates so that they express the true cost of capital, this in addition to increasing deposits in Egyptian pounds and supporting the exchange rate.

Because of what Egypt has been suffering by way of the increase in the foreign debt and the increase in the burden of servicing it, as well as suffering from a deficit in the public budget and the dependence on domestic financing on the banking system, and because it cannot get loans from abroad without end, and the rate of inflation is rising to nearly approach that of Latin countries, a start is seen in the implementation of the adjustment program, but not at the pace that the fund suggests, since it seems that the required steps will be extremely rapid compared to the relative need to take effective steps in the past.

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EGYPT

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING NEW CABINET DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 15 Sep 85 p 2

[Commentary by Salib Butrus: "The New Cabinet"]

[Text] It is known to students of the Egyptian economy that the country has become like an individual who is spending more than he is earning, a situation that must end in indebtedness followed by a declaration of bankruptcy by the individual when his creditors demand payments which he is unable to meet. Countries, however, are not declared bankrupt, but revert to borrowing in order to defray outstanding loans. It is also known that the population of Egypt is increasing by an average of one million inhabitants in less than every 10 months. What makes matters worse is that the land area under cultivation, or capable of being cultivated, is extremely limited, and that in Egypt, there is treachery which has been coddled since the outbreak of the July revolution, and a people, whose burden of support, in its great majority, has been cast upon the government, after this majority has seen a few depraved people looting the country's wealth through corruption, aided by a band of the corrupt who gain a great deal by this looting.

As a result of this, the country's imports have amounted to between \$9 and 10 billion, with one third going to foodstuffs that cannot be dispensed with. This has been accompanied by an unexpected fall in exports as a result of governmental and private overconsumption, and the manufacturing of goods that cannot compete qualitatively in foreign markets. A fall in production has to be accompanied by a fall in real wages (which are the goods and services that the individual receives in exchange for his wages in cash), and a relative increase in cash wages which inevitably leads to an increase in prices, and so on ad infinitum. The economy then enters into what is called an inflationary vicious circle which is the worst thing that can happen to any country.

In an economy such as this, the quest for outside assistance, either in the form of loans that would be repaid with interest and at different intervals or in the form of outright grants, becomes inevitable, and if we were to refer to things by their rightful names, then we would end up with none other than the term "international begging."

Corruption seizes the opportunity to enrich itself in an economy with such features, and to acquire advantages like avoiding income tax and customs

duties payments. It is therefore not be out of the ordinary for the country's budget to go into the red with expenditures clearly outstripping revenues and forcing the government to cover the deficit by printing money, thus helping to ignite a rise in prices.

Although from the time he took over the government of the country in October 1981, President Husni Mubarak has concerned himself with improving the economic situation and placing it at the top of his priority list, and directed the economic conference at the beginning of 1982 to submit its recommendations on this matter, international circumstances, and the international oil market in particular, have hampered these efforts for reform in that the country's main foreign currency revenues, which are the remittances of Egyptian workers abroad, crude oil exports, Suez Canal revenues and income from tourism have begun to fall. In circumstances such as these, successive governments have been unable to limit effectively the value of imports, especially as one third -- as I said -- represents foodstuffs which can only be touched in the very long term, in light of the fact that the annual rate of population increase has reached 2.7 percent while the rate of increase in agriculture does not exceed 2 percent.

In the midst of these circumstances which came about as a result of the accumulations of the near and distant past, Dr 'Ali Lutfi has formed a new cabinet which took the constitutional oath of office last Saturday. Dr 'Ali Lutfi -- and I have studied his policies in the course of my work, from the time he was the minister of finance in the cabinet of Dr Mustafa Khalil during the period from October 1978 to May 1980 -- is a man who to my mind is primarily known for his enmity to corruption. The reason for this could perhaps be his belief that most of the economic ills and the country's social and economic decline are due to corruption. This becomes clearly apparent from his inclination to fight the evasion of customs duty payments by way of the famous legislation which gave the government the right to keep track of imported goods outside the customs office, to make sure that the duty was paid, and if not, that it would be collected, together with fines and punishments. The philosophy of this law can only spring from a moral heritage that is inclined to fight corruption, the corrupt and the corruptors. It was rumored at that time that before leaving the Ministry of Finance, he had made preparations to confront some of the big income-tax evaders.

Dr 'Ali Lutfi belongs to a small group of economists who can put their fingers on the real ills of the Egyptian economy and who know the traditional means to treat it, such as raising prices, especially energy prices, abolishing support in kind, with the stipulation that it be replaced by cash grants for a period of approximately 3 to 5 years, and increasing the revenues of the treasury, not by raising taxes, but by fighting evasion. Some experts consider the recent increases in energy prices to be absolutely inadequate and that raising those prices to international levels would save the national budget approximately \$3 billion annually, but, in keeping with previous adjustments, a long time would be required for this to be realized and by this for the budget deficit to be remedied. The second alternative, which is raising price averages at one fell swoop at a rate of approximately 300 to 400 [percent] a year would entail such strikes as took place in 1977 during the regime of the departed president Anwar al-Sadat.

Once again the international media is classifying the new prime minister as a technocrat whose political expertise does not go beyond the 2-year period which he spent as minister of finance, and this is a matter which requires political expertise in order to implement the reforms that they [the media] consider to be necessary but unpopular, as they are bitter to the taste.

I would respond to this however in two ways: The first is that the new prime minister has been careful since the first moment that his cabinet assume a definite party hue, and he did not ignore even formal considerations in this regard as the consultations for the selection of the new ministers were conducted in the Democratic Party headquarters and in the presence of Dr Yusuf Wali, the secretary general of the party. This is an unprecedented move, even though this obligation has imposed on him some elements that certainly do not completely share his views. This is the first.

As for the second, I maintain that if the new prime minister were to begin implementing what he considers to be an obligation, that is, if he were to set out to fight corruption, then the popular classes that some foreign observers warn against would support him, as these classes are seeking a good, serious example in the fight against corruption and perhaps they will find it in the new prime minister. Moreover, this will foil the harmful activities of some opportunistic elements in this area.

12775

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EGYPT

PATIENCE IN RELATIONS WITH SUDAN URGED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 Oct 85 p 22

[Commentary by Anis Mansur]

[Text] The deep feelings between Egypt and the Sudan have not changed since the shake-up in Khartoum.

Statements in the Sudan proclaim the depth of the relationship between the two states, and statements in Cairo confirm that. And if some Sudanese are afraid of a resumption of relations with Egypt, there are those in Egypt who fear for the Sudan. No one can hasten the clearing up of the picture, for that will come in its own time. The problems in the Sudan are many and have accumulated, so it has an excuse, and what we have are not few, at home or abroad.

No one in Egypt wants to give the Sudan a magnifying glass through which to look at us, and no one in the Sudan wants to give us a tongue with which to talk to them.

But it is well known that in such extraordinary circumstances as these, everything is thus as well. Intentions are not pure, words are mixed and we have spoiled understanding with interpretations. All those are among the axioms of historical events and popular revolutions.

Therefore, a Sudanese-Egyptian rapprochement is natural. No one blames anyone else, or accuses him of changing his mind or returning to the truth, for no one in the Sudan or Egypt has deviated from the truth. What is between us is stronger than every theory, school of thought and all forms of government. In fact, the shake-up in the Sudan is a return to looking at everything and listening to everything for the sake of the renewal and strengthening of the Nile and its outpouring of water, love and a common history on the road to a safe and secure Nile valley.

If we were to judge ourselves according to what is said here and there, we would not find a single reason to stand together, sit together and walk together, for in the event of noble anger, voices are raised, tones are distorted and stinging words are spoken, and thus we blame one another!

But when the dust settles and the rains fall, the Sudanese farmer returns to his land. When the people of the south and the north cooperate and join hands around their borders to form a barrier impregnable to enemies and troubles, everything becomes clear. When things are clear, Egypt and the Sudan will appear as the best of brothers that we were, and will remain forever!

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EGYPT

CHANGE IN FOREIGN TRADE PROCEDURES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 20 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Ibrahim 'Abd-al-'Aziz; "Why did Egypt Resort to the Law of Equivalent Transactions Instead of Payments Agreements in its Foreign Trade?"]

[Text] In the last few years Egypt has begun to do without agreements to pay at accounting prices upon which it depended in furthering its foreign trade with countries of the Eastern Bloc.

Only two accounting price payment agreements remain. One is with the Soviet Union, the other with North Korea. Economy Minister Dr Sultan Abu-'Ali announced that Egypt will trade with countries of the Eastern Bloc in free currencies in the same manner as other countries, especially those in the west.

Why will Egypt dispense with trading according to these agreements? What will be the effect of that on foreign trade? Are there any other ways to stimulate foreign trade that Egypt can undertake?

A Restraint on Free Trade

Fikri al-Qulayni, the minister plenipotentiary for trade representation, says that the nullification of the accounting price payment agreements comes in response to advice from the International Monetary Fund regarding the need to trade using actual prices without intermediate accounting prices.

A great deal of the foreign trade of the 1960's was carried out according to payments agreements. Much of the exported commodities depended on agreements like this. Part of the national debt was settled using payment agreements in which the debtor country would export commodities and services to the lender country in place of paying those debts.

Recently many countries have been constrained by this system as it restrained the freedom of trade and imposed on them goods they did not need. At the same time, some countries began to manipulate the accounting prices each time, resulting in a rise in the payment price without the agreement of the other party. This was what caused many problems between these countries.



Egypt has worked gradually toward eliminating the payments agreements since the 1960's and has followed the system of equivalent transactions. That means it imports goods with the same value as its exports, using a pricing standard of international prices. This has resulted in encouraging Egyptian exports and in opening new markets.

The equivalent transactions system also freed up commerce between developing countries, allowing for direct communication between them, a way around the domination of the great powers over international trade.

#### Encouragement of International Trade

Business consultant Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz Hajjaj discussed the effect of eliminating the payments agreements on foreign trade. "Its effect on imports is that it produces a need for providing credits in free currency to import our needs in commodities from other countries. Yet this system allows for the obtaining of only the commodities we need, and on the best terms. Regarding exports, we relied on marketing some of them to trade under such agreements. We must reconsider the prices of these imported commodities and work to open new markets."

"The equivalent transactions system concerns bilateral transactions. The advantage of this system is that it streamlines the movement of commercial exchange with countries of the world, especially the Third World, since most of them lack sufficient free currencies.

#### Advantages of Equivalent Transactions

Trade Minister Midhat al-Juwayni explains the difference between the accounting prices payment agreements and the equivalent transactions system, saying, "Each system has its advantages. The equivalent payments system has characteristics closer to reality. It is more effective in encouraging trade between the countries of the world."

"Among the most important advantages of the equivalent transactions system:

1. It corrects the disorder in setting currency prices by referring to a uniform international price.
2. It corrects the disorder in the general foreign trade structure by diversifying exports and imports.
3. It allows third world countries to enter the sphere of international competition with their exports.
4. It allows new markets to enter the trade sphere, letting countries obtain the best commodities at the best prices."

"The faults of the accounting agreements system can be summed up by the confusion of the fiscal system in the countries using them, as the system

increased the number of exchange rates in relation to each currency, the balance owed by each side was reassessed from time to time, and the element of international competition in the exports of each country was lost because each party might depend on specific commodities tied to a fixed price, which would effect the development of products, to say nothing of the fact that it leads to sluggishness in international trade between the countries using it.

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EGYPT

OCTOBER WAR VICTORY COMMEMORATED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 Oct 85 p 7

[Commentary by Salah Muntasir]

[Text] Today 12 years have passed since October, since the great victory won by our armed forces, a candle of hope that dispelled the darkness of despair, defeat and humiliation from which we had been suffering.

Today 12 years have passed during which a generation has appeared and buds have grown that have not felt the agony of confusion and mental breakdown and the pain of feeling inferior that we used to feel before October.

Twelve years have passed since a victory which we used to believe would bring peace just by its having been won. We were victorious over Israel in that war, but we forgot that another victory was necessary. We had to be victorious over ourselves, over our differences and the greed of our leadership which turned some leaders to gangsterism and into leaders of gangs; and which caused our bombs to blow up our own houses, our guns to reap our own souls and our daggers to rip into our own chests.

Because our selves, our souls, our youth and our men and women have become of little importance to us, it is natural that we should come to mean little to others, and that they should deem us weak after they had thought that we were a power, and that they should ridicule us after we had ridiculed ourselves.

We used to think that the October War would be the last of our wars, when suddenly following it we ignite a war in Lebanon, a war with Iran, a war in the Sudan, and another war between Damascus and Amman, between Damascus and Baghdad, between Libya and the Sudan and between Morocco and Algeria!

What has happened to the Arab world that it makes war upon itself with such ferocity?

Who has the authority to bring this world to a just trial in which monies are spent and the living are condemned?

Who is it who can bring back to the Arab world its lost reason, its dissipated strength and its squandered wealth?

Remember October . . . .

Remember how you were a powerful unit that the world feared . . . .

Remember how you were considered the sixth power in the world after America, Russia, England, France and China . . . .

Remember how your oil ministers were received like kings and rich men.  
Remember how the world used to look upon you in fear and hope for your approval . . . .

October today, we salute it and its heroes in spite of everything, and we salute its departed, martyred commander.

12547/9190

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EGYPT

## PROSPECTS FOR WHEAT PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic 21 Oct 85 pp 30-33

[Article by Salah-al-Din Jum'ah: "Why Do We Not Produce Wheat? Why Have Farmers Turned away from Growing It?"]

[Text] Not one day passes without seeing an article or a study in the information media dealing with one of the particulars of the problem of not growing enough wheat to meet actual demand.

This problem is not the product of chance and did not crop up in our contemporary life suddenly and without any introduction, for it goes back to more than half a century ago. In other words, it has been the subject of discussion and dialogue for a long time, disappearing for a while and then cropping up again.

The question now is, why does a problem appear half a century ago, then disappear only to reappear at the present time?

To answer this question, we must first study the true aspects of the problem which are embodied in the availability of the necessary elements for wheat production, the decision to farm it, and the decision to produce it.

Agricultural in general, like any other activity, is based on two main elements of production, the material element and the human element. Moreover, production returns and realized profits are used as a basis for evaluation and assessment and for adopting decisions related to farm production and to the type and use of such production to realize the great possible return for the producer, notwithstanding that sometimes this conflicts with the crop rotation system the government follows to control the cultivated areas and, consequently, the size of farm production.

The particulars of the material element may be narrowed down to:

- The arable land which has adequate irrigation facilities and which does not need preparation, tooling, etc. In general, there is a marked difference in the location and fertility of arable land in relation to the inhabited areas. This affects the way it is exploited and, consequently, the kind of production returns.

- The capital necessary for financing farming activities. This include expenses incurred in obtaining farm machinery and production requirements such as seed and fertilizer. Because this kind of money is not available to farmers, this problem has been overcome through credit the government offers through agricultural credit banks and associations and through the cooperative marketing of farm products.

The particulars of the human element may be narrowed down to:

- The labor force involved in the farming process. This includes all services rendered with the aim of creating or augmenting the necessary economic benefits for the particulars of the material element, namely land and capital which contribute to the farm production process. Without the efforts of trained and untrained farm workers, the desired economic benefit cannot be realized.
- The farm production decision-making process, be it by the administrative apparatus which controls cultivated land in accordance with the established crop rotation system or the cooperative marketing system as a planning decision, or by the farm landowners themselves who have the freedom to choose what crops they grow either by abiding by the crop rotation system or by completely disregarding it, resorting to atypical farming (gardens, vegetable gardens, etc.), which realizes the highest economic benefit and does not come under the crop rotation or the cooperative marketing system.

According to the theoretical studies, when the government decides to use its control powers to increase the area used for wheat growing through crop rotation, wheat production will go up. On this basis, the Higher Committee for Economic Policies and Affairs decided in its 5 August 1985 meeting to raise the export price of wheat to 25 Egyptian pounds per ardeb and to increase the area for wheat growing to 1.4 million feddans, or one-third of the arable land. This means that production will reach 11 million ardebs, or an average of 8 ardebs per feddan.

In this regard, several questions may be raised, including:

Why don't farmers grow wheat? Why does the government interfere in determining which areas should be used for wheat farming? And will farmers abide by the government plan to increase production?

To answer these questions, the motives that compel farmers to grow or not to grow wheat must be explored. Their foremost objective of growing wheat would be to meet their actual needs. So long as the government meets their needs for bread and flour at very low prices, they will not venture to grow wheat but will grow products in high demand in order to realize the great economic benefit.

In order to understand the behavioral pattern of farm producers who aim to realize the great possible returns from wheat farming or other products which may conflict with government objectives, the overall production costs and the total revenues from wheat or other products must be considered.



<u>Costs/Egyptian Pounds</u>		<u>Revenues</u>	
Plowing	10	Average yield- 8 ardebs	
Seed	10	Average market price/ardeb 21 L.E.	
Manure	20	18-23 L.E.	
Chemical fertilizer	25	Cost of ardeb based on crop prices	
Herbicides	10	(Not effective yet)- 25 L.E.	
Irrigation costs	10	Price of chaff--"8 loads x 30 L.E."-	
		160 L.E.	
Irrigation workers		Government share of wheat: 3:1.5	
and chemical spreaders	10	ardebs	
Cleaning watering &			
drainage canals &			
repairing watering			
machines	20		
Wheat harvest	50	<hr/> Total revenues	
<u>Costs/L.E.</u>		<u>Revenues</u>	
Transport from field to			
thresher	25	Price of wheat (based on government	
		set price, not market price)	
Thresher (by farm tractor)	35		
	15		
Separate wheat from chaff	-----	8 x 25=	200 L.E.
		Price of chaff	160 L.E.
<hr/> Total Cost		Total Revenues	360 L.E.
	240	Total Expenses	240 L.E.
		Net Revenues	120 L.E.

Keep in mind that what is now grown on low-fertility land because the produced amount does not cover expenses. Moreover, wheat farming depletes the soil, thus lowering productivity for the succeeding crop.

The above table shows that the net yield of a feddan of wheat is 120 L.E. while one of the substitutes, flax, yielded 200 L.E. last year and is expected to yield 300 L.E. next year. Note that flax is exactly like wheat with regard to its need for fertile soil and the way it depletes the soil.

Furthermore, clover, the second main substitute for wheat farming, yields 150 L.E. on the average and is grown on low-fertility land. It adds to the fertility of the land and, consequently, helps raise the productivity of the succeeding crop.

The above facts demonstrate the following:

1. Wheat yields low profits compared to the substitutes.
2. It is not a grown in low-fertility soil and depletes the soil in general.

3. Clover is planted in all types of soil and actually enhances soil fertility.

4. Crops cultivated after wheat yield less. The opposite is true of crops planted after clover.

This clearly explains why farm producers avoid wheat farming. It also answers questions recently raised in the Egyptian mass media about the reason for farming 3 million feddans of clover and only 1 million of wheat.

And this is not all. Wheat does not receive the same attention as cotton or rice with regard to cooperative marketing. The government receives no more than the amount earmarked for export which is up to 3 ardebs per feddan. In other words, the government's share from farming 1.4 million feddans of wheat is estimated at 4.2 million ardebs. This is due to flaws in the cooperative marketing system and to the refusal of its institutions to accept more than the established share--(or due to the low returns for farm producers). It is also due to the small volume on the wheat market, as a commodity subject to supply and demand, and to the lack of crop dealers in villages and hamlets, thus rendering the marketing of wheat an expensive proposition because of the small amounts traded and the need to transport it to the market, thus forcing farm producers to turn to substitutes such as poultry feed and animal fodder, the cost of which has skyrocketed recently.

#### There Is No Wheat Shortage

Wheat farming must be based on analytical studies of the factors which lead to higher production and the aforementioned material and human elements and on the study of the behavioral patterns of farm producers who seek to realize the great possible economic benefits.

Farm producers grow wheat to meet their basic demands and as long as the government provides for their needs at low prices, they do not need to grow it, so they turn to farm products which are in demand and which yield hefty returns.

Our problem is not wheat shortage. Our problem is the lack of enough foreign currency to cover the cost of importing bread production requirements such as flour or imported wheat and the search for substitutes, including locally grown wheat.

This explains the disappearance and reappearance of the problem of inadequate local wheat production on the grounds that it is a secondary rather than a primary problem.

It is better to reexamine the cooperative marketing system and the pricing of farm products so as to correct the course and achieve greater farm production. Most indicative of that is the AL-AHRAM article of 4 June 1985 under the headline "Farm Cooperative--Where Are They Going?"

The agricultural sector is constantly complaining about the cooperative marketing systems, the ad hoc and specialized associations, and the agricultural credit and financing agencies. These organizations do not do their part in developing and protecting members' rights. Farmers get nothing but red tape, tutelage, and various fees imposed upon them unlawfully and without the benefit of any real services. Most farmers do not hide their profound wish and hope that these systems be dropped altogether.

Most of the high-fertility land has been converted to fruit farming, or vegetable farming in the case of arable land close to the markets, cities, and population centers, in an attempt to avoid cooperative marketing and in the hope of realizing rewarding returns.

If we want to overcome our economic problems in general and our food problems in particular, we have to exploit and derive benefits from what is possible and available and must forget the impossible and the hopeless. We possess all the necessary material and human elements of production, in the agricultural field in particular.

The government has failed to augment the material elements, of which land is one, to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI said it best when it published on 2 September 1985 an article entitled "The Main Features of Agricultural Sector Accomplishments," in which it said that the total area of land reclaimed between 1952 and 1970 was around 112,000 feddans and that this increase did not contribute much to farm production. A study of food deficiency reveals that in 1960, it was 1 million tons; in 1970, 1.7 million tons; and in 1980, 7.4 million tons. In general, this deficiency included all food products except rice. From 1986 to 1987, we will have a rice shortage of about 240,000 tons and the expected food deficiency in grain will rise from 7.1 million tons in 1981-82 to about 10.4 million tons in 1986-87.

This demonstrates without a doubt that the food shortage in Egypt is at an impasse. Because the need for food is the worst kind of humiliation, the only thing we can do is to follow the only road open to us to get ourselves out of this dilemma, making use of the experience of other peoples who have already been there. The Arab people have cultivated the desert, achieving self-sufficiency and a surplus for export in one of the most important farm products, wheat, which constitutes the main commodity in Egypt's food deficiency, representing two-thirds of the total deficiency.

A study of the irrigation system used in Egypt reveals that arable land is irrigated by inundation, a primitive technique dating back to the Pharaonic era. These primitive techniques are still in use and water is still being wasted as a result.

Notwithstanding the great development in irrigation techniques, neighboring countries are using water with a higher salinity than the drainage water judged at one time to be unsuitable for irrigation because of its salt

content. Furthermore, the Egyptian farmer has had experience in this field. When fresh water was unavailable, he used drainage water to irrigate his land (in some areas). Many plants and trees, such as camphor and castor-oil, grow on drainage water. Add to that the fact that ground water in Egypt has not received the necessary government attention as a source of irrigation in our time! And what about sewage water which is polluting our shores instead of using it to cultivate the desert?

With regard to human element, it is what puts the material factors into operation and production, thus achieving the desired economic benefits. Egypt has a long, rich history in agriculture. Its people have much experience in this field for they are the ones who have cultivated the desert in all the Arab countries and are able to cultivate Egypt's desert to produce enough food to meet their country's demand. So who will realize this hope?

Planning for cultivating the desert is the responsibility of the administrative apparatus as the foremost leader of agricultural development and the one responsible for the behavior of the producers and farmers. The dissociation of the goals of the leaders from that of the grass roots has led to the situation in which we find ourselves today. A large portion of the skilled and unskilled farm labor force has gone to work in Arab and non-Arab countries; producers and farmers have been hit with apathy; and the administrative apparatus imports our foodstuffs because of the production deficiency. Would it not be better to transfer ownership of the desert to the producers at no charge or for a nominal fee and easy time payments? There is nothing more painful than being in debt. The same thing applies to those who provide the necessary machinery, equipment, and money for agriculture, on conditions that the landowner would have the right to sell the land he reclaims and puts into production! As for uncultivated and unclaimed land, it would revert to the government after 5 years, and the landowner (producer) would have the right to choose the crops without government intervention.

The administrative apparatus will have to focus on the responsibility of removing the administrative red tape hindering implementation, whether generated by the local authorities or by various government departments and agencies which do not coordinate with each other and hide behind flashy slogans aimed primarily at achieving supremacy and self-assertion, claiming to work for the state's or government's interest without any thought to the impotence and weakness that may befall the national economy because of such individual attitudes.

As an example, AL-JUMHURIYAH newspaper published the following in its 7 September 1985 issue:

"Neglected ground water in a desert village is enough for cultivating 200,000 feddans. Why did the Ministry of Reconstruction leave ground water, enough to irrigate 200,000 feddans, in a natural reservoir?...But the president of the Fukah city council refused to receive the machinery because it belonged to the Ministry of Reconstruction and not the Ministry of Local Government. The machinery was left outdoors to rust."

Based on the above, every able Egyptian citizen must realize that the business of land reclamation is different from any other business. A profitable factory has a certain production life span while a piece of reclaimed land has no such limits. It is everlasting for Egypt, for coming generations and for all to come.

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EGYPT

AL-SALIHIAH AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS REVIEWED

Agricultural Projects

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 20 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Hamid]

[Text] When the government started the agricultural projects in Al-Salihiah, we said, "That is a miracle." These projects were supposed to add 56,500 feddans to the arable land in Egypt at an annual output of 350 million Egyptian pounds, and provide employment opportunities for about 17,000 workers. The al-Salihiah projects were also supposed to narrow the gap in foodstuffs, and contribute to the realization of a balance in the balance of payments by attracting capital, increasing agricultural exports, and providing hard currency.

It is understood that the al-Salihiah projects were created in order to found agricultural industries that would depend on raw materials produced on the land, such as the sauce-making, juice and jam production, vegetable preservation, and fodder and dairy products industries.

Among the objectives for which the projects in al-Salihiah were founded are: construction of new urban communities and areas to attract people and contain the continuous increase in the population; maximum utilization of the available water resources; introduction of modern technology in the agricultural sector; and reclamation of desert lands by modern methods in order to increase their production to strengthen the national economy.

But, has any of these objectives for which the al-Salihia super projects were started been accomplished? Do these projects indeed bring an annual production of 350 million pounds?

Some people firmly believe that the continuation of the al-Salihia agricultural projects is threatened due to a drop this year in annual production from 220 million Egyptian pounds to only 22 million. Others insist that not even one inch of al-Salihia lands has been reclaimed since early this year, and thus the export market has been completely shut down owing to scarcity of products.



In order to find out whether these accusations are true or not, let's listen to what the general director of the al-Salihiyah agricultural projects has to say.

Mr Mansur says that all accusations directed at the al-Salihiya projects by some people are completely unfounded. Records show that 56,000 feddans have been reclaimed and are well-cultivated. They produce annually about 20 million Egyptian pounds and their production is on the rise.

During the National Economic Conference President Husni Mubarak stated that Egypt has to reclaim at least 150,000 feddans. The staff of the agricultural projects are ready to reclaim 50,000 feddans annually according to the most modern methods presently applied. The higher committee in charge of policies has made a decision requesting that the al-Salihiyah project be changed into a 'public sector company' between the Arabic Contractors and the National Investment Bank.

#### Repeat the Experiment

The general director of the agricultural projects in al-Salihiya added that they succeeded in reclaiming agricultural lands and this was confirmed by the economic committees who visited the project and recommended in their reports that the experiments be repeated in other areas of the Egyptian desert. Their reports stated that production at al-Salihiyah will increase at least 20 percent annually.

He said that in al-Salihiyah there are now 3,000 employees working at full capacity, and it is not true - as it has been claimed - that al-Salihiyah is without workers. The project has discharged only 10 percent of its workers, and that is because of their travel outside the country, and not for any other reason.

He also said - this in his own words - that al-Salihiyah is considered a source of free currencies as a result of the export transactions created by the project. We have succeeded in opening foreign markets whose annual size exceeds 450,000 Egyptian pounds worth of agricultural products. This was accomplished--despite the difficulties we met in opening these markets--due to the reputation of 'Arab Contractors' in the fields of development, building, and construction. In addition, we have now several offers from both European and Arab countries to import al-Salihiyah products. . .We can say that al-Salihiyah project, no matter how you look at it, is successful. There are some difficulties, but they are temporary and will eventually disappear.

#### Apartments Vacant

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 20 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] At a time when Egypt is faced with an acute housing crisis, and while finding an apartment in the greater Cairo area or even in the provinces has become merely a dream for thousands of families and millions of young people, there are in the city of al-Salihiyah 6,000 apartments which have been completely ready for 2 years. These apartments completely deserted. In addition, the majority of the very few families who live in al-Salihiyah due to the nature of their work are now thinking about leaving the city,

even though many had hoped for permanent residence there far from crowds, noise, and pollution.

#### What Is Different?

Mr Ahmed Shahhata Najm, Director of the comprehensive school in al-Salihiyah, says that in order for someone to obtain an apartment in one of the al-Salihiyah buildings, which are built by the government, he has to pay in advance 4,000 Egyptian pounds, and a monthly rent of about 50 Egyptian pounds. Of course, this kind of money is not within everyone's reach. This has become a factor in driving people out of the city. Living in one of these apartments was supposed to cost an individual one-fourth of his income.

Mr Muhammad Hasan Muhammad Amin, secretary of the comprehensive school, adds: "Can you imagine living in a city without bread? We are forced to travel to the city of al-Qassasin in order to obtain the bread we need. That means each one of us has to take a ride for 15 kilometers, paying 5 piasters in order to buy bread for only 10 piasters. The same goes for drinking water which, according to the health laboratories tests in the city of al-Zaqaziq, is not fit for humans. Now is life possible in this city?"

#### Slow Suicide

Engineer Ahmad Falluh Salim, head of the city's electrical system, says, "In al-Salihiyah our hope has been shattered. Is it possible to have 6,000 vacant apartments in the city with nobody willing to occupy them while the country is suffering from a housing crisis? The life of the few families living in al-Salihiyah is below human standards. There are no services, no markets, no stores, and not even drinking water. We have been asking ourselves, why the automatic bakery in the city has not yet been put into operation while the inhabitants endure much in order to obtain a couple of loaves of bread from the city of Qassassin."

These are the words of Labibah Farid Khalid, an engineer with the al-Salihiyah electrical system, "Even transportation between us and any other city in Egypt is non-existent except for an old bus that runs between al-Salihiyah and Faqus. This bus runs according to the driver's will and changeable mood."

According to Eng Mustafa 'Abd-al-Raziq, president of the regional phone system, the central office in the city is just for appearances. Despite the fact that it has 2,000 lines, only 75 are operating. Communications between al-Salihiyah and any city in Egypt is practically nil.

Wafa Muhamma Yusuf, teacher at the al-Salihiyah school, added that the city has neither an ambulance, nor a pharmacy, nor a hospital.

#### An Exaggerated Picture

Now, what is the opinion of the officials of al-Salihiyah? Eng Mahir 'Abdallah, director of development for the al-Salihiyah Construction Authority, admits that transportation is the biggest problem in the city. The ancient

bus which runs twice between al-Salihiya and Faqus does not cover the transportation needs of the people. Consequently, the city has become isolated from the rest of the Egyptian provinces.

Engineer Muhamma Husni Ibrahim, head of the city authority, protests the way many people are describing the city. According to him the work in the city is proceeding at full speed until all city facilities are completed. The vacant apartments will be occupied once the sewer system and the underground water station are completed, because these are among the vital needs for residency. As for the water crisis, the city is now supplied from three wells at a daily output of 175 meters. To make sure the drinking water is suitable, a water purification station will be built within the next few months. The bread problem in al-Salihiyah will be overcome once the automatic bakery starts running in December of this year. The bakery will have the capacity to make 6,000 loaves of bread per hour. This will cover the needs of al-Salihiyah and the surrounding cities such as al-Qassasin and Faqus.

#### Basic Facts

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 20 Oct 85 p 9

[Text] The al-Salihiyah project is one of the projects aimed at conquering and cultivating the desert in an attempt to break away from the limits of the narrow green strip stretching along the Nile river, whose cultivated area does not exceed 6 million feddans.

Al-Salihiyah projects can be divided into two parts: al-Salihiya project with an area of 23,000 feddans, and the Youth Administration project with an area of 33,500 feddans. The two make a total of 56,000 feddans.

The project started in January 1982. Until now, 56,000 feddans have been reclaimed at a cost of 1,500 Egyptian pounds per feddan. Al-Salihiyah agricultural projects are irrigated from al-Isma'iliyah Canal and several wells. Water is carried by pipes and not by canals. This saves 20 percent of the water. Water-saving increases to 45 percent when drip and sprinkler irrigation is used.

In al-Salihiyah there is a program to develop livestock resources in order to fill the need for red meat. Also, a plant has been built to produce dairy products for consumers' needs.

Next to al-Salihiyah's agricultural projects, there is the new city of al-Salihiyah which has about 4,000 apartment units to house those who work at the projects, and whose number exceeds 10,000 people.

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SUDAN

MILITARY COUNCIL LEADER DESCRIBES POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 25 Oct 85 pp 25, 27

[Interview with 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar al-Dhahab, Chairman of the Transitional Military Council, by 'Afaf Zayn: "The Rebellion Is Carrying out the 'Pincers' Strategy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] AL-HAWADITH experienced the first days of the April revolution in the Sudan on an exclusive basis. It experienced the days of the 6 April revolution moment by moment, listened to the pulse of the people out in the streets and held discussions with officials commanding the new era, as people call it and as the Sudan's neighbors and friends in the Arab world predict will happen for it.

AL-HAWADITH, which accompanied this important transition in the modern history of the Sudan, sat with 1st Lt Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar al-Dhahab on the first day of the revolution and he talked to the magazine about the hopes and aspirations he harbored for the Sudan and plans to implant democracy, apply a good-neighbor policy and open the door to discussion with the country's south, which is inflamed by revolution.

AL-HAWADITH is once again sitting down with 1st Lt Gen Siwar al-Dhahab, chairman of the Transitional Military Council, in a conversation which is more than a press interview that contents itself with questions and answers, to pick up once more what the Sudan has achieved during its new transition, especially in the wake of the latest rebel attempt which has presented the Sudanese with a new dilemma no less grave than that of the south: is it the Sudan's Arab and Moslem identity that is being threatened? Will the leaders of the new era open the "bazaar" of traditional solutions in the context of the Arab League or the Islamic Conference Organization? What is Col John Garang's fate? Who is the real rebel in the south of the Sudan?

These are some of the points about which the discussion with the chairman of the Transitional Revolutionary Council 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar al-Dhahab revolved, and here is the text of the interview:

AL-HAWADITH: The declarations issued by the Sudanese armed forces command concerning the latest rebel movement made it seem, whether for motives or

objectives, as was stated in the bulletins issued before the movement, as if the Sudan is now an objective in terms of its Arabhood and Islamic affiliation, through the provocative appeal to "rid the Sudan of white Moslem minority rule in the north." Do you have specific statements in this regard? To what extent are these appeals a threat?

Siwar al-Dhahab: There is major truth to this statement, in terms of the racist orientation the nature of the rebel movement has shown and the goals of the people plotting on its behalf.

This movement's real objective, as ongoing investigations show, is to make the pure black African element prevail and remove all Arab Moslem elements from the Sudan and eliminate them. As these people imagine, the Sudan belongs only to races whose roots are African. This thinking is not acceptable and is to be rejected; it is out of the question even to entertain it.

AL-HAWADITH: There are many questions about the secret behind the timing of the raising of these racist appeals during the critical transitional period the Sudan is passing through. Observers believe that the explosion of these "time bombs" can be attributed to real fears among non-Moslem Sudanese, with the obvious emergence of the Sudan's Islamic orientations since the application of Islamic law.

Do you believe that the genesis of the latest attempt was fear and that its motive was to obtain guarantees, or that the real goals lie beyond that?

Siwar al-Dhahab: I consider that the first signs of rebel movement that occurred in the armed forces were just a coincidence and that it is not appropriate to say that there are tendencies in the Sudan which are dominated and motivated by purely religious feelings. Even the traditional parties that have Islamic orientations are distinguished by tolerance and moderation in their behavior. While the Sudan calls for the application of Islamic law, the overwhelming majority of its people are Moslems and the Sudanese are known for their attachment to the teachings of their religion.

AL-HAWADITH: Neutral observers believe that the parades Khartoum has witnessed recently, the latest of which was the pageant of "the safety of the Sudan" the Islamic National Front organized, in which it raised slogans dominated by extremism, such as "retaliation by the bullet" and the appeal to arm the tribes, were the cause of provocation of the non-Moslem Sudanese people's fears and brought them to assemble to ward these off. What is your opinion, especially since the Military Council received the front's petition and acted in a manner which gave one to think that it embraced its ideological positions and slogans?

Siwar al-Dhahab: I do not consider that some of the manifestations of religious extremism apparent in some parades Khartoum has recently witnessed were the real reason for the provocation of the racist attack which has surged upon us in a sudden manner in such a country as the Sudan, where sectarian and racial pluralism reaches its maximum, although it is possible that the appearance of similar racist and sectarian appeals could occur. The latest movement was just a coincidence unrelated to the obvious emergence of

the Islamic current in the Sudan or in some slogans which were raised during some parades.

AL-HAWADITH: The Sudan, in terms of its racial and sectarian features, could be considered an Arab and Moslem breach in an advanced position in the African continent. If the racist wave you referred to continues and the attempts are repeated, will the Sudan determine to discuss these newly-created conditions in an Arab or Islamic context, or will it content itself with dealing with matters internally?

Siwar al-Dhahab: In the first place, it is necessary to deal with these serious newly-created conditions internally. If this current of hostility toward Arabhood and Islam is permitted to succeed, there is no doubt that the danger will threaten the whole Islamic nation. The Sudan, as you pointed out, is an advanced Arab and Islamic breach in the heart of the African continent and there is no harm in the Arab brothers being concerned and sharing a feeling of the gravity of conditions with us, in the event this racist attack against us continues. The likelihood of discussing the seriousness of these conditions in the context of the Arab League and the Islamic Conference Organization will arise at any moment we consider that things are proceeding in a direction hostile to the Sudan and the Arab nation.

AL-HAWADITH: The statements issued by the armed forces have indicated that Col John Garang has created a specific change in his strategy by enlarging the area of the fighting in the direction of the north and the west. The statements issued after the latest attempt at rebellion in the army have made it seem as if Garang's forces tried to join with the movements of "people with a grievance" in the mountains of Nubia and the west.

Is this "pincers strategy" aimed at surrounding Khartoum with the objective of imposing the appropriate solutions on it?

Siwar al-Dhahab: The statement about the new strategy, which has expanded the area of military operations in the direction of the north, is correct, and the deduction is appropriate. This new quantum leap is in keeping and coordinated with Col John Garang's goals, which he has spoken about on more than one occasion; these are to govern the Sudan, north and south, in the context of a communist regime. This does not need proof. All the proof can be found in the literature of the rebel movement Col John Garang has been leading since it was established. Consequently, the pincers strategy, as you spoke of it, is also communist in tinge. Unfortunately, its objectives are being welcomed among Sudanese bodies which are of this tendency.

One must say that foreign bodies well known for their left-wing ideological affiliation have been and still are standing alongside Col Garang and are supporting him with the arms he used in his latest operations.

AL-HAWADITH: Observers say that the quantum leap in the Sudanese rebel movement's strategy is in the long range aimed at opening channels to a campaign of suspicious religious appeals within Egypt on the argument that the religious current there and this current's demand for the application of Islamic law have risen to prominence.



Do you believe that the pincers strategy on its southern and western flanks constitutes a danger to Egypt also and threatens its population composition?

Siwar al-Dhahab: Since the Sudan represents an important, vital hinterland for the fraternal country of Egypt, any damage or harm afflicting the Sudan, God forbid, must cause our brothers in Egypt anxiety and be a claim on their attention and concern.

It is not to be ruled out that the long-range schemes of the racist movement which has joined forces with the rebel movement in the south are lying in wait to ambush any Arab country, Moslem and African, characterized by pluralist components in their civilization and they will be equally dangerous if suspicious entities try to infiltrate into the country's security and the unity of its soil and population through them.

Analysts are sometimes overcome by pessimism, although what the succession of facts reveals might inspire that and impose wariness, alertness and attention on us and every Arab and Moslem country.

AL-HAWADITH: Right after the disclosure and elimination of the recent attempt at rebellion in the Sudanese armed forces, it was observed that a great quantum change had occurred in the course of relations with Egypt. Suddenly Egyptian-Sudanese relations rose above many barriers and obstacles.

Has the return of matters to their normal course just been a Sudanese reaction to what happened, so that another relapse might freeze the course of relations between the two countries? Or have the obstacles been eliminated for good?

Siwar al-Dhahab: The relationship with Egypt is an eternal one distinguished by its own character, and there is total cooperation between us in all areas. This distinctive relationship did not need what recently happened in the Sudan to return to its normal course and transcend all the marginal false steps.

Although some negative features have recently appeared in this relationship because of Egypt's refusal to hand over the deposed President Numayri, this cloud will disappear.

The prime minister, Dr Jazuli Daf'allah, visited Egypt, as well as the Sudanese minister of defense, and I will make a visit soon. This all shows the strength of the relationship between the two countries.

AL-HAWADITH: During the Sudanese defense minister's visit to Egypt, Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, the Egyptian defense minister and deputy prime minister, stated that the joint defense agreement made between Egypt and the Sudan would be carried out and that specific amendments would be added to it. Do these amendments deal with the section on aid to the Sudan to put an end to the rebel movement in the south, since the treaty stipulates that the Sudan is to be helped only in the event a foreign aggression occurs?

Siwar al-Dhahab: We have actually heard these statements attributed to our brother Marshal Abu Ghazalah, and so far we have not read these

recommendations. However, at the right time we will give our opinion on all the recommendations and amendments that have been submitted for discussion between us.

AL-HAWADITH: A spokesman for the Transitional Military Council discussed specific changes which would be made in the Sudan's relations with some neighboring countries in light of the investigations carried out in the wake of the recent attempt at rebellion. On many occasions it has been pointed out that Ethiopia is one of these countries.

Siwar al-Dhahab: The initial investigations into the recent attempt at rebellion in the armed forces revealed the involvement of foreign bodies in the conspiracy against the Sudan. The conspirator who was found out talked about a military airplane which was to arrive from Ethiopia, transporting Sudanese figures conspiring against the security and sovereignty of the Sudan and the unity of its territory, after Sudanese political figures had been assassinated, chaos and unrest had been created in public life and influential segments of our armed forces had been taken over preparatory to a takeover of the capital, Khartoum.

AL-HAWADITH: At the beginning of the new era, you pursued a good-neighbor policy. When the latest African summit conference was held in Addis Ababa, you met with Col Mengistu Haile Maryam. It was expected that this course would yield fruit in the form of good relations reflecting positively on the south of the Sudan. Why didn't the Sudan receive similar treatment from Ethiopia or other countries? Has the good-neighbor policy failed, and consequently what is the alternative?

Siwar al-Dhahab: I did in fact talk at length with Col Haile Maryam, and we are optimistic over the possibility of improving relations with our neighbor Ethiopia. We have taken positive steps, for our part, and our ambassador is now in Addis Ababa and will present his credentials.

Therefore we are proceeding with Ethiopia and hope for an improvement in relations. As to what the official spokesman for the council said, it has become apparent from preliminary investigations that there is a country which after the success of the racist attempt in the Sudan was to send military airplanes and supplies to support the suspect coup movement. Investigations are underway to learn the identity of this country.

AL-HAWADITH: Does this country have relations with the rebel movement in the south?

Siwar al-Dhahab: Full confirmation has not been made on the veracity of the information we have. We will reveal everything at the appropriate time.

AL-HAWADITH: It was recently observed that the Radio of the People's Army for the Liberation of the Sudan has been broadcasting its programs from Ethiopia and that Col John Garang's contacts are being arranged through official Ethiopian channels.

AL-HAWADITH revealed a few weeks ago that John Garang is under house arrest in Addis Ababa. Do you have information on this subject? If this news has

been confirmed, does it mean that the Sudan is waging war behind the scenes with Ethiopia?

Siwar al-Dhahab: I read what AL-HAWADITH published at the time regarding Col John Garang's fate. There are numerous signs which lead to the belief that something obscure is going on on the other side.

All the colonel's contacts have started to be made in the way I mentioned. We have much information which underlines this possibility. It is not to be ruled out that he actually is under house arrest in Ethiopia -- otherwise, how can we explain that all the statements are issued by people representing him and acting on his behalf? Second, why didn't he reply to the offers and recommendations we sent regarding a common search for an end the war and a common effort on behalf of the future of the Sudan?

AL-HAWADITH: In addition to Col John Garang's being under house arrest (and it is said that the reason is his declared desire to end the fighting and open the door to dialogue), circles in his movement have witnessed an assassination campaign aimed at the lives of southern leaders who have declared their desire to open the door to dialogue along with him.

If the investigations prove Ethiopia's involvement in the recent rebel operations and indicate that the Sudan is waging a war in its southern regions with another African country, will you request that the matter be dealt with in an emergency African summit?

Siwar al-Dhahab: Actually, if we do not reach positive results with Col John Garang and he does not respond to our repeated appeals to sit down at the discussion table, we will proceed with our peace discussions with all the parties present in the Sudan and I will totally ignore John Garang, on grounds that he has become an isolated personality.

There is more than one sign of the validity of what AL-HAWADITH published as an exclusive on Col Garang's being under house arrest. None of the official Sudanese delegations I sent to meet him succeeded. This is absolute proof that there actually is someone who is preventing contact with him. There is another question, which is, why hasn't Col John Garang been seen for a long time outside Ethiopia? It was one of his customs to visit his troops and comrades in the southern regions of the Sudan.

AL-HAWADITH: What is the scope of the coming Sudanese movement toward solving the crisis of the south? Will this problem be solved on the basis that it exists in its own right and apart from the other crises, or will it be dealt with in the context of a general constitutional conference dealing with all Sudanese issues and having a comprehensive character?

Siwar al-Dhahab: We are intending to prepare for the holding of a national conference to define the problems of the south and other various areas. We invited Col John Garang, the leader of the rebel campaign, to lay down arms and participate in this conference and he offered us onerous conditions. Nonetheless, we have not lost hope yet that he will respond. However, the conference will be held, whether he responds or not.

AL-HAWADITH: How would Col Garang respond to Khartoum's call if he is under house arrest? Perhaps his fate was that of Samuel Ashul Gashusha, who responded to the call for dialogue.

Siwar al-Dhahab: We are still hoping for good things. It is possible that anything can happen with the other party. There are unclear things whose facts we do not yet totally know.

AL-HAWADITH: The Sudanese people who went out on the streets and made a great leap in the Sudan's history with you have placed much on the leaders of this era and have gambled that the Transitional Military Council and the temporary government have positive intentions to solve the aggravated problems in the country.

What has the new era offered the Sudan? Have the achievements measured up to what the Sudanese had anticipated?

Siwar al-Dhahab: The legacy the current government inherited from the previous situation was heavy. We do not claim to have realized great achievements, but we are taking firm strides in the direction of implanting democratic conditions in the Sudan and correcting mistakes.

The government has managed to ward off the effects of drought and desert encroachment thanks to the effective aid we have received from brothers, friends and international organizations and citizens' generous donations.

All the evidence indicates that this year will be good, thanks to the level of rainfall, the Nile flood and the citizens' receptivity toward farming. The government has taken the necessary measures to prepare the silos it needs for storing crops, which will protect us from drought in coming years.

In the economic area, we have received aid from fraternal and friendly countries. We have met with every form of generosity and munificence on the part of His Majesty King Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, since his majesty has called for the convening of an economic conference in Riyadh to be attended by representatives of the Arab funds and international financial institutions to discuss ways and means to help the Sudan emerge from its economic predicament.

This conference will be held this month, God willing.

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CSO: 4504/67

SUDAN

INTERVIEW WITH SIWAR AL-DHAHAB

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 23 Oct 85 pp 10-11

[Interview with General 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar al-Dhahab, head of the Transitional Military Council, by Hamid Sulayman: "The Mutual Defense Agreement Is the Translation into Law of a Reality Existing Between the Two Countries"; Khartoum, date not given]

[Text] In 2 days, Cairo will welcome General 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Siwar al-Dhahab, president of the Transitional Military Council and commander-in-chief of the people's armed forces in the Sudan.

In Khartoum, AKHIR SA'AH had the following exclusive interview lasting a full hour. Discussion during it dealt with many issues of interest to the Sudan and Egypt.

How does the president of the Transitional Council see relations with Egypt and how to work for their stability and vigor?

What is his point of view about the recent plot in the Sudan? The multiplication of political parties? The problem of the Sudanese South? The political and military disturbances experienced by the Sudan since it obtained independence?

General Siwar al-Dhahab says that nations have no guarantee against revolutions except awareness and civilization. He states that the mutual defense agreement between Egypt and the Sudan is only the translation into law of a reality that exists between two countries bound by a relationship that will continue to exist forever, strengthened by bonds of blood, history and a common struggle. This is the text of the conversation:

In his office in the People's Palace overlooking the Nile on Corniche Street in Khartoum, with a broad smile conveying great love and affection, and in spite of his many activities and an office agenda swollen with appointments and meetings, General Siwar al-Dhahab set aside enough time to answer AKHIR SA'AH's specific questions. He did so under the shadow of an unexpected emergency situation that had forced the Military Council that he heads to order a curfew in the Sudanese capital.



The interview with him inevitably began with the events currently absorbing his interest and with the subsequent judicial inquiry involving the leaders of the recent plot in the Sudan. My first question was:

[Question] Now that the judicial inquiry into the civilian and military personnel accused in the recent plot is almost concluded, what are the objectives that have been uncovered up to now behind the plot which broke into view at daybreak on Thursday, 26 September 1985?

[Answer] It has become clear that the goal was to bury the entire democratic experiment and to rule the Sudan on a racial and regional basis, one which would give the black race precedence on the basis of a racial and sectarian theory new to the Sudanese people, who have lived throughout their life as a nation within a framework of national unity encompassing all their races, cultures and tribes in complete peace. If this plot had not been aborted in its early stage, it would have been a horrible prelude to the conversion of the Sudan into another Lebanon.

#### Proliferation of Political Parties and the Transitional Period

[Question] It has been remarked that the great proliferation of political parties has created dozens of directions and differences even about major national issues such as the problem of the South. Do you not think that there has to be some sort of mutual understanding among these parties on a minimum agreement about the major national issues, especially in this transitional period?

[Answer] The Military Council to which the functions of sovereignty in the country have been entrusted and which now represents the neutral national authority in the Sudan is attempting to carry out this role through the political committee emanating from it, so that we can reach some sort of mass political agreement about questions that involve our destiny and major national problems such as the problem of the South.

[Question] Some newspapers, especially those on the right, are constantly expressing their uneasiness about the fact that many of the tasks of the transitional period, as specified in the charter of the National Grouping, have not yet been carried out: e.g. solving the problem of the South, confronting the economic situation, and creating a constituent assembly. Is this correct? And why?

[Answer] Every ruler has priorities. During this transitional period and in the difficult circumstances through which the Sudan is passing, we have tried to deal in the beginning with the economic problem. Then came the recent events that forced on us urgent matters of security to protect the unity of the country. Then there was the problem of the security apparatus after the dissolution of the previous security apparatus had resulted in a vacuum. In spite of all these things, steady work is being done by the committees preparing for the stage of democracy. In fact, we have finished drafting the temporary constitution for the country and have signed it.



Also, the special committee charged with determining how the constituent assembly will be formed to draft the permanent constitution has finished. We are in a race with time to carry out our promise and hand over the affairs of the country to the democratic civilian government next 6 April, God willing.

[Question] It is well-known that the faulty application of Islamic law has stirred wide-ranging discussion in the Sudanese political arena and in the Arab arena generally. What is the fate of these laws, especially with large sectors of the political parties rejecting their complete repeal and being only for their amendment in accord with the essence of Islam?

[Answer] We are now in a transitional period. These disputed questions of our destiny, involving the sources of Sudanese laws and the definition of the identity and coloration of the economic system to be chosen by the Sudan in accord with the cultural values and human circumstances of a Sudan of many races, cultures and religions--all these questions of destiny cannot be settled by the Transitional Military Council. It will leave settlement of them to the constituent assembly to be elected by the people. Otherwise, what difference would there be between us and any of the typical military coups that give themselves the right to issue legislation and that define or even utterly change the destiny and identity of nations?

#### The Danger of Military Coups

[Question] The Sudan, like many other countries of the Third World, has experienced many military and non-military upheavals since obtaining independence. Is there, in your opinion, a way that will enable the Sudan to protect itself from the fear of such political and military upheavals?

[Answer] The only guarantee protecting newly independent peoples from such upheavals is increasing maturity of political consciousness and civilization. As the degree of a people's political consciousness and civilization increases, the potential for its experiencing such upheavals decreases. To give you an example, why do such military or political coups not take place in the most civilized countries--in Europe, for example? It is because no one even thinks of them; everybody knows the extent of the losses that he and his country would suffer because of them. Therefore, as I said, there is no guarantee except a people's increasing maturity, civilization and absolute certainty that such upheavals would harm everybody.

There is also the people's increasing conviction of the need to resist any further coup. This is what the Sudanese people have done more than once, so much so that the Sudanese [National] Grouping of Political Parties and Trade Unions has been led to sign a charter to resist any future coup. This as another kind of guarantee, one that the Sudanese people has chosen, or, one may say, has originated.

## Stability and Vigor of Relations

[Question] Egyptian-Sudanese relations, although they have existed since time immemorial and are special, occasionally pass through stormy periods of ups and downs. How can such transitory storms be controlled, so that these relations may take their natural course toward stability and vigor?

[Answer] The course of Sudanese-Egyptian relations does not differ from that of the Nile. It has been flowing from time immemorial on its long journey from south to north, and in the course of its journey the river encounters many different climatic and geographical conditions. But the current always flows without ceasing, no matter what bends or cataracts block its way, and it finally reaches the river's mouth clear and pure. Regarding the search for a means or way to guarantee some kind of stability and vigor to these relations, I believe the best way lies in observing and studying the lessons to be learned from the past of these relations, so as to profit from both positive and negative experiences and avoid all the negative factors influencing these relations even in a passing manner.

[Question] You have previously stated that the Mutual Defense and Integration Agreement with Egypt is only a translation into law of a reality that exists between the two countries. Is there any inclination to amend or develop these agreements in the interest of both countries?

[Answer] The Mutual Defense and Integration Agreements between the Sudan and Egypt are founded on the relationship between us. This relationship between our two peoples has existed from time immemorial and will continue to exist forever, strengthened by bonds of blood, history, common struggle, religion, kinship and the great Nile. We see nothing to prevent us from seeking to amend or develop the established agreements between Egypt and us, if that serves the interest of the two sister peoples. I am completely confident that Egypt shares this spirit with us and agrees with us on the subject.

## The Military Council and Garang

[Question] What is the Transitional Military Council's stand now that John Garang, head of the Popular Movement for the liberation of the Sudan, has repeatedly refused peaceful dialogue, continues to put pressure on the government, has taken sudden action after the al-Nasir incident, and has engaged in plots following the recent mutiny in the Supply Corps?

[Answer] We have addressed many invitations to Colonel John Garang to enter into dialogue with the government to settle the problems of the South and various regions of the Sudan. We invited him to take part in the national convention that the government has decided to hold for this purpose, but he accepted only with the attachment of impossible conditions. As has now been revealed by the inquiry into those who have been arrested, it is clear that he was involved in the recent plot. Nevertheless, we are eager to solve the problem of the South and of the different regions in our country. The government will go forward in holding the convention. In spite of the army's pledge to maintain a ceasefire except in the case

of self-defense, we will not abandon our land. We will protect the lives of our countrymen by all the means we possess.

[Question] There have been repeated reports recently of his having accepted peaceful negotiations with you and of his having sent some of his aides to Egypt to prepare the way for a peaceful solution.

[Answer] That is what we fervently hope for.

[Question] What steps have the government and the Transitional Military Council taken to confront the difficult economic situation in the country? To what extent have the countries, particularly the wealthy ones, of the Arab world responded to the Sudan's request for aid?

[Answer] The Sudan inherited a collapsing economic situation from the overthrown regime, together with immense oppressive debts and a decline in production. The government is doing everything in its power to correct the situation, or at least to limit its grip. We have encountered complete understanding of our position from King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz of Saudi Arabia, who has graciously called for the holding of a conference in Riyadh to be attended by the Arab funds and international financial institutions to help the Sudan come out of its economic crisis. The conference will be held this month. We have great hope that it will produce splendid results.

From another point of view, the rains were very good this year and the Nile flood excellent. This will serve to increase production, with a stabilizing effect on the economic situation.

Finally, we thank all the brothers and friends who extended a helping hand to us.

#### The Rains, the Nile, and the Famines

[Question] Concerning the famines that have struck areas of eastern, western and central Sudan because of drought and desertification, what steps taken locally or internationally have played a part in confronting them? Have plans been prepared for the prevention of such disasters in the future?

[Answer] The Sudan has obtained effective aid from its sister countries and friends and from international organizations to relieve the victims of famine and desertification. The situation can now be said to have improved greatly, notwithstanding the difficulties we face in transporting relief materials from the port to the interior of the country. I also want to praise the efforts made by the Sudanese themselves and what they have done to save their countrymen.

All indications are that the Sudan's production of food crops this year will be large, thanks to the good rainy season and Nile flood. The government and certain friendly countries are making efforts at the present time to construct grain silos to store enough to protect the country from hunger in years of drought or weak rains.

[Question] It is said that there are tendencies, even among some parties and factions within the National Grouping, to extend the transitional period. How can this be reconciled with your announced commitment to hand over the reins of government next April?

[Answer] The present government in the Sudan is a transitional government operating according to the test of the National Covenant, which limited the transitional period to 1 year. If the parties and organizations that signed the covenant think it best to extend the period because of the problems in the south of the Sudan or because of other problems, an extension could take place by mutual agreement. In that case, the commitment would not be violated; there would merely be a postponement of the time of its implementation.

[Question] (Gathering up my papers) What message would you like me to carry from you to the people of Egypt before you honor Egypt with your expected visit?

[Answer] (Rising to say good-by) Greetings and expressions of esteem and affection, together with my best wishes to the Egyptian people for continued progress and renewal; and to the fraternal peoples, Egyptian and Sudanese, for an increase in cooperation, mutual assistance and brotherhood!

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CSO: 4504/61

TUNISIA

TUNISIAN ARAB REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES ISSUE STATEMENT

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 7 Oct 85 p 16

[Article: "Statement by the Movement of Tunisian Arab Revolutionary Committees"]

[Text] In the name of Allah, most gracious, most merciful....

"Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies of God and your enemies and others besides whom ye may not know but whom God will reveal."

The great God is truthful.

The prophecies of Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, leader of the Arab revolution, have been fulfilled. He had asserted more than once that the American-led Zionist train of death will strike us one by one, man or woman, child or aged, all equally. It will seize every opportunity to direct its devastating blows at Arab existence, regardless of the regime in power, "be it submissive and reactionary or progressive and revolutionary." Such blows can not be ward off as long as we remain in our bad Arab position dominated by division, fragmentation and schism.

The leader of the revolution, with his usual candor and undying sincerity, constantly warns the masses of the Arab nation against the designs of Zionism and American imperialism with which it is strategically allied in order to destroy the pan-Arab existence of the Arab nation. For he realizes that the Arab-Zionist struggle is a struggle for survival rather than for borders. He is always urging popular revolutions against the stunted entities represented by reactionary Arab regimes loyal to Zionism and American imperialism. A popular revolution is the only force capable of destroying the Zionist train of death.

While the commander of the Arab Revolution warns and provokes, Arab rulers turn in pathetic droves to the American Black House to declare their allegiance to their master Reagan and to assert their subordination, submission, and compliance. The last of their number was the despicable King Husayn, descendant of traitors and puppets who, in return for American protection for his rotting throne, shamelessly announced his recognition of the Zionist gang called "Israel." Such protection was sought by all prostrate Arab rulers.

including the dean of foreign agents, Bourguiba, descendent of the Jews. The terrorist American administration promised to bolster his oppressive regime and protect him against any internal popular movement or external aggression, in return for his hostility to the populist regime in Libya and opposition to all unity initiatives by the 1 September revolution and its leader. A solid proof of this is the shrill propaganda campaign which his mercenary apparatus has been waging for weeks against the Jamahiriyah, its revolution, and its leader.

But the daylight raid by Zionist planes against Tunis reaffirmed that America stands with all its might and military weight behind the Zionist gang. The raiding planes were launched from American warships anchored in the Mediterranean off the Tunisian Arab coast, ostensibly to protect Tunisian security and sovereignty.

Terrorist America struck its protectorate Tunisia because its interests, which are those of the Zionist gang, dictated that it take that terrorist action even if it shattered the hopes of Tunisia's rulers whose propaganda apparatus brags day and night yet now stands mute in the wake of that shameful attack in order to avoid American ire. Such a submissive stance raises questions and doubts. How can the raiding planes enter Tunisia's Arab airspace and hit its targets without being challenged by Tunisian air defense or pursued by Tunisian warplanes?

The Arab masses in Tunisia suffered dozens of victims as the price they paid for their leaders' submission to the terrorist state of America. They will continue to pay in victims and suffering unless they put an end to the conspiracy against their future, stability, and security between their rulers and imperialism and Zionism. The responsibility for such conspiracy lies squarely on those treacherous rulers who deceived them into believing that our interests lie in affiliating with the headquarters of world terrorism, America, and not in Arab unity as advocated by the 1 September revolution, which mercenary Tunisian propaganda tries to paint as an enemy.

The movement of "Tunisian" Arab Revolutionary Committees has been warning Tunisia's Arab masses that when imperialism and Zionism carried out that sudden attack, their objective was to turn Tunisia into a new Lebanon, especially now that the Zionist presence there has become armed and has infiltrated the government and party machinery and exploited them, so far as possible, in the interests of international Zionism.

The movement of "Tunisian" Arab Revolutionary Committees reiterates the necessity of an immediate, decisive response to that disregard for the Arab nation by the Zionist gang behind which stands terrorist America. Such a response lies in putting an end to submissive Arab rulers who surrendered power and land to world imperialism and Zionism. The movement calls on Arab masses in general and Tunisia's in particular to declare a popular revolution against those defeatist rulers in order to regain respectability for the great Arab nation.



It [the movement] believes that only the masses are capable of protecting their land and defending their existence and interests against aggression. They alone are capable of purifying the Arab fatherland from reactionism, imperialism, and Zionism.

The Tunisian Arab Revolutionary Committee movement calls upon Arab masses in Tunisia to adhere to the Jerba declaration of unity and to struggle strongly and vehemently for its implementation because a union between the popular masses of Tunisia and Libya would mean their liberation from the serious relapse perpetrated by the regime of reactionaries and agents which overpowers them in Arab Tunisia.

The [movement] specifically asserts that it is at the disposal of the popular masses in Tunisia and that it is their battering ram in crushing the throne of treason and in avenging the Arab dignity that was wasted by the enemies of Arabdom and Islam.

Revenge...Revenge against the agents of imperialism and Zionism, O our popular masses in Tunisia....

Forward...Forward.... The revolutionary struggle continues....

[signed] The movement of "Tunisian" Arab Revolutionary Committee

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TUNISIA

BRIEFS

NEW ARAB-AFRICAN PLAN--A high-level Arab source revealed that the talks that Mr Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the Arab League, and Mr Abdou Diouf, president of Senegal and current head of the OAU, conducted last week specifically dealt with the necessity of devising "a new Arab-African plan" to confront the penetration of Israeli influence into the African Continent and the probability of some of the African states announcing a decision soon to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. The source explained that Abdou Diouf is currently the most prominent "adversary" of Israeli influence in Africa; however, the Senegalese president does not hide the fact that he blames the Arabs for this. He considers the strengthening of Arab-African relations to be the basic pragmatic response to the Jewish state's increasing influence on the continent. Klibi promised the Senegalese president to undertake new Arab contacts to explain the gravity of the Israeli moves currently being conducted, which aim at enticing several African states into abandoning the Arabs and cooperating with Tel Aviv. [Text] [London AL-MUSTAQBAL 16 Nov 85 p 11] /8918

CSO: 4504/95

ISRAEL

ISLAMIC PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT HOLDS FIRST CONFERENCE

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 7 Sep 85 pp 35-36

[Article: "Constituent Conference of Islamic Progressive Movement; Extols Arafat's Wise Leadership; Internal Arab Support for PLO; Condemnation of Hafiz al-Asad's Sectarian Regime and Palestinian Dissidents"]

[Text] Under genuine and sincere national slogans--including "the PLO, which is committed to just Palestinian principles and precepts, has the right to negotiate in the name of our people"; "conscious steadfastness and diligent struggle are the bases of our movement for the sake of a liberated Palestinian state"; and "the progressive movement is an Arab heart and a sincere Palestinian voice"--under these and similar slogans in Hebrew, English, and Arabic, the constituent conference of the Islamic Progressive Movement was held in Nazareth from 22 to 25 August 1985 with the participation of delegations from the occupied Arab areas and of Israeli Arabs and also from the rational progressive Jewish groups which support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. The Progressive Movement thus reaffirmed itself as a legitimate social and political movement with its own constitution and institutions, following a difficult and arduous journey it has had to travel in the Israeli political climate. It is still being subjected to conspiracy by Israeli parties seeking Arab votes in total disregard for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the Arab people within Israel.

On 21 April 1984, shortly before the slates of the 11th Knesset elections were formed, Arab personalities and representatives of the progressive national organizations met to discuss and debate two key questions:

1. Establishing a progressive Arab national organization to bring together Palestinian national progressive personalities living within the so-called Green Line.
2. Running for the Knesset on a slate independent of the other existing political parties.

This matter flashed a red light in parties and slates seeking Arab votes without political representation. Immediately following the founding of the Progressive Movement. Arab elements, including the Renaissance Group and the

Nazarine Progressive Group, formed a coalition with the Jewish Progressive "Ternayez" (alternate), led by Mati Baylad, journalist Uri Avneri, Dr Ya'qov Arnoun, and other members of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Council. This coalition ran for the Knesset under the Progressive Peace slate headed by Knesset member Muhammad Mi'ari. Dr Mati Baylad is an orientalist who used to be a Palestinian humanities professor before 1948.

The features of the Palestinian Arab National Progressive Movement, which is loyal to its Palestinian people within and outside the occupied land and which adheres to its just cause and national soil and opposes Israeli arrogance, were highlighted in the opening ceremony which included a large number of Arab and Israeli delegations from inside the homeland as well as from the occupied areas. Poet Fawzi Abdallah, the master of ceremonies, gave the opening address in which he said:

"In the name of the just cause of our Palestinian people and in the name of the cause of our Palestinian people inside our homeland which is a sacred, inalienable right and for the sake of which our strength must go on, and the cause of total equality and our right to live in dignity and freedom in our homeland, we proudly and respectfully announce the opening of the constituent conference of the Progressive Movement. This is an important turning point in the creation and progress of the movement which used to be the framework that commanded the greatest popular respect in our life since 1948. This framework was temporary and, as of today, the social and political organization process shall begin.

"We are quite aware of the serious circumstances in which the constituent conference is being held. On the Israeli level, the fig leaf covering the defects of the Israeli rulers is starting to shake. Nonetheless, they will not give up their arrogance, extremist methods, rancorous statements, and insane actions, particularly with regard to our Palestinian people and to us inside the homeland who are an integral part of this superb people who only die standing up. The rulers of Israel practice all sorts of methods and work on all fronts, including the dreadful, odious occupation through which they engage in all sorts of oppression, national discrimination, injustice, and tyranny on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and against us as well, foolishly announcing the possibility of peaceful coexistence, as though peace is a marketable slogan rather than rights, justice, and equality.

"The rulers of Israel are completely and primarily responsible for all the fascist and Kahanist movements spread all over the country, and on the West Bank and Gaza as well, in a way that threatens first and foremost Israel itself. These are stray sheep being defended by a minister or a foolish rabbi like Kahana, Rafal, Abidof, Gayola, and a long list of others. We hope God will guide them to the right path soon.

"We in the Progressive Movement and the Progressive Peace slate highly value the role of those progressive Jewish brothers who have become a scapegoat for Judaism because they reject all the morbid factors and phenomena rampant in Israel, because they actually work for the recognition of the Palestinian people's right to establish their own independent state on national soil side-by-side with the Israeli state and because they repudiate this conflict because

the crux of the conflict in the Middle East is the Palestinian question. Moreover, the (Jewish) brothers are working for total equality among all citizens in Israel. They are the progressive vanguard which is cooperating with the Progressive Movement and is seeking to broaden its dealings with it to the advantage of the Palestinian and Jewish people and that of all the citizens of the state.

"We are well aware of the circumstances under which the conference is being held. Arab and international reaction is struggling with American colonialism over the rights of the Palestinian people, but we do not fear for our people because they have become a highly productive olive tree.

"We in the Progressive Movement have a sound Palestinian perspective. We have and still declare that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The PLO, through its elected democratic leadership, is free to act on all political issues and is capable of overcoming oppression and eliminating injustices. The Palestinian legitimacy is indivisible for it is not a garment we don whenever we please and shed whenever we please. It is neither a commodity nor a mood nor a state, it is an established fact."

Fawzi Abdallah was followed by Rashid Salim who delivered a long and comprehensive speech in which he reviewed the communique of the Progressive Movement's regional administration. He reviewed the prevailing conditions and circumstances and the problems plaguing the movement since its establishment. He focused on the right of the Palestinian people to set up their own independent state, saying that the Lebanese have exposed the tattered Arab regime's feeble reality to the whole world, and to the Arab peoples in particular. This regime watched the Palestinians being massacred before the Israeli legions at the hands of the Syrian and Lebanese forces and the Amal militias without voicing even a protest and without allowing their peoples to stage a protest against such barbarous massacres.

Dr Rashid Salim touched on the Jordanian-Palestinian plan, saying: "Whereas we have confidence in the PLO and its ability and whereas we believe in its legitimacy, its collective democratic action and its independent decision-making process, we can be assured that this leadership will adopt decisions it deems appropriate for the settlement of the Palestinian question in accordance with prevailing precepts and circumstances."

Dr Abd-al-Raziq Rashid, dean of student affairs at al-Najah National University, delivered a speech in which he saluted the Progressive Slate, saying: "The circumstances are not free of difficulties and we are aware of the extent of the obstacles and the gravity of the problems facing us as Arabs and Jews. We have a common mission, so let us fulfill it hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder."

Dr. Thabit Ahmad Thabit, president of the dentists union on the occupied West Bank, gave a brief speech in which he said: "It is not strange to see such rallying around your movement, for it emanates from the tragedy we both share. You have long endured the problems of the Palestinian struggle. We salute and support all groups which believe in our people's right to self-determination

on our land through the establishment of our Palestinian state on our blessed land."

Journalist Uri Avneri, leader of the Tarnayef Slate, who had formed an alliance with the Progressive Movement, thus forming the Progressive Slate headed by Knesset member Muhammad Mi'ari, gave a speech in which he said: "For 37 years, I have waited for this day on which a proud and high-minded Palestinian Arab movement is born so that we may cooperate together in our common struggle for the sake of peace. No peace can exist between master and slave or between oppressor and oppressed. Peace can only be established among proud, lofty people."

"The Progressive Movement is a Palestinian movement very proud of its identity."

#### Final Communique

1. The Palestinian masses in Israel are a vital and integral part of the Palestinian people as a whole who are part of our Arab nation. They can contribute to the establishment of a just peace between the two peoples.
2. The Palestinian masses in Israel are a fraternal ethnic minority with national rights. The Israeli authorities have to acknowledge them and deal with them on this basis as well as on the basis that Israel is a state of all the people.
3. We the Palestinian Arabs in Israel who are citizens with full citizenship rights carry the appeal of the Arab and Jewish masses in Israel and the world regarding the Palestinian people's right to self-determination for the sake of establishing a just and lasting peace in the region and for full equality between us and our Jewish brothers in the state.
4. The Palestinian cause is a question of existence, rights, and the future of humanity and of the Palestinian people, as set forth in various UN resolutions and of their self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on their national soil, side by side with Israel under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO.
5. Respect and support for an independent Palestinian national decision-making process through legitimate Palestinian institutions and rejection of all endeavors at tutelage and containment, regardless of the source.
6. All the countries of the world, Israel and the United States in particular, are asked to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.
7. Israel must totally withdraw from all Palestinian territory occupied in 1967, foremost among which is Arab Jerusalem, and must restore these areas to their rightful owners, namely the Palestinian Arab people, for the sake of a just and lasting peace.
8. Israel must work for getting the region out of the war vortex and must divert all efforts to establish a just peace with our Arab nation, at the head



of which is our Palestinian people, and to remove all the causes of war, displacement, persecution, and expansionism.

9. Conscious and persistent struggle against all plans aimed at squandering Palestinian national rights and liquidating the Palestinian cause and at spreading colonialist hegemony over our entire region, the Camp David plan and its outcome in particular such as the autonomy plan, the so-called Jordanian option put forth by the "Ma'rakh" Party, the Reagan plan, and the rest of the plans and interpretations that ignore the free, independent Palestinian will.

10. Reaffirmation of the necessity to put an immediate stop to all settlements on Arab soil and of the government's obligation to uphold international law and practices and to carry out the resolutions of the international community represented by international agencies and organizations, chiefly the UN and its official institutions.

11. Support for the national struggle of the inhabitants of the Arab Syrian Golan Heights in their endeavor to retain their national identity and full rights to their land and properties, as well as their right to self-determination, and to work for the total and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from occupied Syrian territory and from South Lebanon.

Regarding internal conditions and policies, several resolutions were adopted, all calling for true and complete equality among all citizens in the state in the various cultural, political, social, and union fields. They also called for eliminating all kinds of discrimination, chiefly those laws and regulations which discriminate in letter and spirit against the Arabs. They are: the emergency regulations of 1945, the real estate laws, the absentee landlord laws, and the repatriation law as well as the social laws such as the national insurance law, the large family law, and laws that discriminate against Arabs in universities with regard to tuition, scholarships, and dismissal and admission requirements.

Moreover, the conference called for raising the level of education among Arabs and for the introduction of all modern educational fields and courses and for industrial and technological instruction. It also called for a radical change in required courses and curricula in Arabic schools, by recruiting them in a way that respects the Palestinian national heritage, history, and literature and enhances the students' pride in their Palestinian and Arab identity and for the establishment of an Arab university and modern theoretical and vocational schools and research centers. The conference further called for respect for religion and belief and for freedom to practice religious rites for all citizens, each according to his persuasion. The movement calls for the complete preservation of all religious and historical sites, particularly mosques, churches, and cemeteries, and for their return to their owners. It also calls for all kinds of efforts for the liberation of the Islamic "waqf."

11/10/1978

CSG: AM/201

ISRAEL

MANEUVERING AMONG RELIGIOUS PARTIES

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 22 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by Mark Segal]

[Text]

THERE WERE high hopes when the grand coalition was formed that the two main partners - Labour and Likud - would get together and dispense with the religious parties. As things turned out, though, the national unity government became a coalition of coalitions, with the religious parties squeezing out the maximum from their traditional balancing act.

The power they enjoy is a function of Israel's electoral system. And if anyone thought the two big blocs would carry out a reform of the system, they ignored the fact that the Likud had committed itself to Agudat Yisrael, as part of a pre-coalition deal, not to allow any changes.

We have only to consider how well local government has taken to direct mayoral elections to see what a revolution might be wrought in central government.

The Sharon crisis last week drove home the extent to which the religious parties, and Shas in particular, enjoy a pivotal role as a result of the weakness of the big blocs.

The impression gained is that the religious politicians have been making the same promises to both of the major parties - to the extent that both suitors are convinced they can hear marriage bells in the distance.

While those close to Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir talk of religious party promises never to agree to serve in a narrow Labour-led coalition, advisers to Labour Party leader Shimon Peres, notably Energy Minister

Moshe Shahal, assure him that the religious parties are Labour's for the asking.

Indeed, it is said that this information prompted Peres to write the most celebrated letter never sent in Israel's history.

Once the religious factions told Peres that the marriage was off, he was obliged to back away from the brink in his showdown with Ariel Sharon, allowing Shas Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz to become the media event of the week as he shuttled between Peres and Sharon helping them both climb down from their very high poles.

THERE ARE THOSE who contend that Peres could have followed through on his threat to fire Sharon by threatening early elections. Those in the know claim that a fresh election is the last thing the religious parties want, except, that is, for the fractured Agudat Yisrael, which has reached rock bottom with two seats and has nowhere to go but up.

The four-man National Religious bloc is trying, Canute-like, to stem its electoral erosion if that is at all feasible, while Morasha, with two MKs, is at the cross-roads. Shas, the Sephardi Tora Guardians, have four MKs and have not yet established a clear political identity; the spectre of schism still hovers over the Sephardi breakaway from Agudat Yisrael.

All these belong to the coalition. The odd man out is Tami's single

MK. Aharon Abuhatzzeira, the man who lost his reputation as one of Israel's most astute politicians and who now currently sits on the sidelines, waiting impatiently for the government to fall.

It is no secret that leading Labour Party politicians – with Peres taking the lead – have been hard at work since the elections in erasing the anti-religious label which had become attached to the party.

The prime minister has gone through all the motions, from paying a pilgrimage to the Western Wall on assuming office to zealous Sabbath observance and weekly study sessions at the Jerusalem court of the Shas spiritual mentor and former Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef.

There has also been a revival of old friendships between Labour and the two Aguda adversaries, Avraham Shapira and Menachem Porush, with Shapira enjoying support from both of the major blocs in his powerful position of Knesset finance committee chairman.

This gives the jolly MK great influence but not quite the clout he enjoyed in the pre-Shas days when, as Menachem Begin's crony and coalition executive chairman, he enjoyed the appellation of "managing-director of Israel Inc."

If he has been having second thoughts about his alliance with the Likud, he has kept them to himself. Porush, by contrast, noisily quit as deputy minister of labour and social services, muttering imprecations about Herut minister Moshe Katsav.

It is likely they would jump on the bandwagon if Labour went on its own, a course that Morasha – the political arm of Gush Emunim – would certainly not follow, while soundings among Shas and NRP sources produce positive and negative responses.

One hears that in private talks the troubled NRP heads murmur their readiness to go with Labour, on condition that the fall of the grand coalition is not seen to be connected with the future of the West Bank. This is bound up with the NRP's current efforts to woo the Morasha faction and to retain the loyalty of its Bnai Akiva youth movement militants.

THE MAIN LESSON to be learned from canvassing views among the

religious parties and beyond is that even if Peres had managed to cobble together a narrow-based coalition, it would have fallen the moment the opposition Likud had tabled religious legislation, such as the halachic amendment to the Law of Return. At that point, the religious factions would have faced irresistible pressures from ultra-Orthodox rabbis to support the opposition motion.

At a stroke, the carefully constructed Labour-religious alliance would have come unstuck.

Hence, all Labour's efforts are now directed at ensuring that the Likud's current partners will be available to Labour after the next elections.

By all appearances, the cabinet crisis brought Peretz much closer to Sharon, but those in the know point to ambiguous statements uttered by the soft-spoken rabbi concerning future political options.

The accepted wisdom among some political commentators is that Peretz and his colleagues are more moderate, in keeping with the traditional Agudat Yisrael line, than the supposedly pro-Likud hawkishness of their Sephardi constituency.

IN FACT, though, Shas's identity card remains blurred and is, indeed, something of a mystery. The Sephardi Tora Guardians first burst onto the scene with their emergence from nowhere in the last Jerusalem city council elections, when they badly dented the Aguda list and the hitherto unbroken successes of the Porush dynasty.

This was the first clear indication that the internal Aguda battles were bursting onto the streets.

An analysis of their municipal and Knesset votes, however, shows that most of their support came from ultra-Orthodox districts in Jerusalem and also from Bnei Brak which is populated predominantly by followers of the Litvak *misnagdim* wing of the Aguda, led by Rabbi Eliezer Schach, head of the Ponevezh Yeshiva in Bnei Brak. The deepening enmity between him and the party's hassidic wing, led by the Gerer rebbe had virtually split what was a relatively strong faction in the last Knesset.

When the most recent Knesset elections came round, Schach gave

his blessings to Shas and his followers across the country flocked to the ballot booths with the aim of punishing the Gerer-dominated Aguda list.

And while Schach acts as the party's patron in the background, former Sephardi Chief Rabbi Yosef presides over the party's Council of Sages, with the four Shas MKs bound to heed its edicts.

Yosef has become increasingly bitter since his ouster from the Chief Rabbinate, for which he blames Justice Minister Moshe Nissim. Yosef's followers see him as a victim of an ancient feud between the two rabbinical families. They claim that Nissim was motivated by a desire to wreak vengeance on Yosef for what he considered to be the "usurpation" of the Sephardi Chief Rabbinate from his late father, Rabbi Nissim.

Indeed, I was reminded how minister Nissim – on the day Yosef left office – made a pilgrimage to his father's grave. At the time, he was quoted as proclaiming at the graveside: "Father, I have avenged you."

Those who are acquainted with the world where religion and politics converge see nothing out of order in such a story. After all, the ultra-Orthodox party, based on a connecting mesh of dynastic rabbinical courts, keeps alive the names of the shtetls destroyed during the Holocaust. And it has kept alive all of the ancient feuds and alliances.

Adversaries of Yosef say he has lately turned rather anti-Ashkenazi, perhaps as a result of his rabbinical rivalry with former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren.

They quote Yosef as saying that, "When the Messiah comes, he will certainly be Sephardi" and warning Sephardim against using *tefilin* containing texts written in the Ashkenazi tradition.

THERE ARE those who deprecate Peretz's political position, contending that he depends totally on Yosef and Schach and that he lacks any independent political base of his own.

I was told that a major reason the party is reluctant to face early elections is that a private Shas poll revealed that the party would win only two seats at present.

But Peretz, a novice on the politic-

al scene, has proved to be highly adaptable. His political views have yet to crystallize: he was a zealous supporter of the Integral Land of Israel movement until he met the dovish Rabbi Schach.

On religious and social issues, he is a fundamentalist of the purest hue, but has soothed the fears of those who sounded the alarm bells when he took over the Interior Ministry.

I gather the ministry staff has grown fond of him, finding him to be extremely polite and courteous.

Yet the "Khomeini" label attached to Shas has been given substance first by the scandalous statement of his party No. 4, MK Shimon Ben-Shlomo over the deaths of soldiers in Lebanon "due to the licentiousness of female soldiers."

In the ensuing Knesset furore, Peretz trounced his fellow MK for "trying to be the Almighty's book-keeper." But it did not take long for him to assume that role himself when he proclaimed that the young victims of the train-bus collision had perished because of the decline in Sabbath observance in their Petah Tikva hometown.

Shas MK No. 3 Ya'acov Yosef has drawn attention, too, both because he is the son – and mouthpiece – of Rabbi Yosef and because of his rare appearances in the Knesset. Yosef is particularly noted for having been the only other MK to vote for Meir Kahane's motions.

Interestingly, it was Yosef who announced he was quitting the coalition after the failure of the "Who is a Jew" vote, leaving his three fellow Shas MKs in the coalition. That was a parliamentary innovation emulated by Morasha's Avraham Verdiger, who left the other Morasha MK, Rabbi Haim Druckman, on the government benches.

WHILE the emergence of Morasha is a function of the NRP's crisis, the phenomenon of Rabbi Peretz at the head of an Aguda splinter is a symptom of the long-term failure of the Mizrachi-Religious Zionist Movement. Peretz, an athlete in his youth, was regarded as one of the better products of the elitist Mizrachi Midrashat Noam yeshiva. He thought of going into the army but opted for the yeshiva.

The Mizrachi movement obtained the financial means to set up a net-

work of yeshivot, high schools and vocational schools, but let the educational work be taken over by teachers from the ultra-Orthodox world of yeshivot, non-Zionist at best, anti-Zionist at worst.

Thus, we see how the tolerant Sephardi rabbis of earlier years have, in the course of time, been replaced by the products of the intolerant fundamentalism of the Litvak yeshivot.

Under this influence, and that of various ultra-nationalist rabbis, men like Peretz moved into Orthodox fundamentalism, while those like Haim Druckman and Hanan Porat shifted towards the messianism of Gush Emunim.

Both trends were away from the moderate middle ground traditionally occupied by such leaders as the late Haim Moshe Shapiro and his successor, Dr. Yosef Burg, until expediency propelled him to the right.

My first encounter with Kiryat Arba's leader, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, was at the 1968 NRP Convention when he stood bellowing "traitor, traitor" at Shapiro after Shapiro had advocated territorial compromise.

Gush Emunim was created by Zevulun Hammer and his NRP youth circle faction as a ploy to take over the party.

But the movement turned into a golem. There are many who regard Hammer as the greatest calamity ever to have hit the NRP.

It was his idea to bring in the stormy Druckman – who eventually broke away to form Morasha, and it was his brainwave to call back Prof. Avner Shaki, now threatening to break away if not accorded what he thinks his due – the party's cabinet seat.

Under the joint leadership of Burg and Hammer, the NRP has witnessed its rapid decline from 12 seats in 1977 to four in 1984.

It is a great movement with a weak and divided leadership incapable of politically maximizing its tremendous network of assets.

ONE OF THE more perceptive observers of the religious political scene is *Hatsofeh* editor Moshe Ishon, who fears that the too-constant flow of government money – \$9 million this year alone – has brought more harm than good to the religious parties. He contends they wielded more clout when they were poorer.

Ishon sets great store by the reform programmes for revitalizing the NRP. "If we wish to build our movement anew, we have to return to our principles and our platform encapsulated in the theme of the Land of Israel for the people of Israel according to the Tora.

"I mean that all three elements have to take equal priority: We must revert to the middle way – unlike Aguda and Shas, which focus just on the Tora, or like Morasha and Tehiya, on the issue of the land alone.

"We have to think of the kind of society that will emerge here. We have to reassert our traditional balance, and then we will win back all those alienated voters."

Ishon speaks of "a crisis of identity," the need for a change of the party leadership.

The day I called on him, his newspaper carried a report on a crusade to revitalize the NRP which has thrust to the forefront of its spiritual leadership Rabbi Aharon Lichtenstein, head of the Alon Shvut yeshiva. A moderate thinker, he is the son-in-law of the saintly Rabbi Yosef Dov Soloveitchik.

Scouting around for prospective trends among party chiefs, I learned that the great survivor, Yosef Burg, who promised to retire this month, will perform "Nasser" – offer his resignation but finally bow to "spontaneous" movement pressure at the NRP national executive council on November 28 to continue into his 36th year of ministership until after the party elections and national convention next March or April.

It is convenient for all concerned to keep the succession issue on the backburner for the moment.

They hope to coax back Morasha and part of Tami for a start, and face new elections, expected in the late spring, with a new leadership.

I have it on good authority that there will be a parallel struggle: former deputy foreign minister Yehuda Ben-Meir will challenge his old pal, former education minister Hammer as the youth circle's nominee, while Burg's Lamine faction will witness a three-way fight between ex-MK Avraham Melamed, religious affairs ministry director-general Rabbi Moshe Solomon, and WZO Tora Education Department head Yitzhak Meir. Boring it won't be.

ISRAEL

#### PLIGHT OF ISLAMIC WAQFS HIGHLIGHTED

Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI in Arabic 21 Sep 85 p 38

[Article: "Inside the Green Line; Islamic Waqfs Between Return and Loss"]

[Text] The Second Islamic Conference, which was held in Nazareth, highlighted the intensity of the Islamic waqf problem and underscored the need to join efforts in a united front against the authorities' arbitrariness toward the waqf issue.

The demands put forth by the conference may be summarized as follows: Apprise the Israeli government of the necessity to accord full recognition to the Islamic community's right to manage its properties and request the Arab Knesset members to initiate action for passing a law allowing the Muslims to hold democratic elections by secret ballot to elect a general Islamic agency to handle and manage waqf properties for the benefit of the country's Muslim population and to take care of purely Muslim affairs such as the appointment of judges, clerics, and other officials, like the other sects, and the election of a new board of trustees.

The proposed bill that the Arab Knesset members prepared summarized the just demand of Muslims in Israel throughout the last 35 years following the Israeli government's decision to confiscate Islamic waqf properties and turn them over to the Israeli Land Authority.

The disintegration of the Islamic waqf issue since the fifties conveys in essence one meaning: the absence of joint efforts by Arab members to influence this issue and pressure Israel into passing a law releasing these waqfs and restoring the right of their management to their rightful owners.

Furthermore, the lack of joint efforts by Arab Knesset members notwithstanding, this matter remained neglected until the beginning of the sixties, save for some simple attempts by some members, attempts that have failed to influence Israeli government schemes in this regard.

In exchange, successive Israeli governments submitted a number of Islamic waqf bills to the Knesset, which enacted these bills into laws giving the authorities the right to dispose of Islamic properties at their discretion.



Among the bills the Knesset passed was one submitted in July 1959 under the title "absentee landownership law" which released a small number of waqf properties to Islamic boards of trustees to be appointed by the Ministry of Finance. Moreover, it was agreed in 1965 to set up boards of trustees in various cities to be appointed by the government. At the end of 1973, it was agreed to broaden the powers of the boards, but this decision has not been put into force to this day.

The presence of 400,000 Muslims in Israel, nearly 11.3 percent of the total population, is a matter of great concern to Israeli governments. If the Arabs gain control of their properties and use them to improve their lot, the general standard of the Arabs in Israel will go up. This is of great concern to Israeli officials who put their fears to rest by depriving the Muslims of their right to enjoy the fruits of the Islamic waqfs, thus compounding the Muslims' loss. Such measures are a source of satisfaction to every government in Israel.

Up until the end of the seventies, no successful attempt by Arab Knesset members had been made, for parliamentary blocs succeeded in thwarting such endeavors. It appears that the beginning of serious mass struggle came during the 10th Knesset working session when Knesset members Muhammad Watad and Hamad Khalayilah submitted the absentee landownership bill which mentioned "the necessity of liberating Islamic waqfs to be managed by boards of trustees elected by Muslims and the necessity of creating a regional body to run Muslim affairs and manage their various interests."

We said that this bill was the beginning of a serious awakening due to its ratification in the preliminary reading on 30 May 1984 after Knesset members Watad and Hamad succeeded in enlisting Jewish support for their bill. We must note here that some Arab Knesset members avoided this session during the vote because of party differences. This ratification was aborted when the 10th Knesset was dissolved and new elections held.

During that time (1983), Knesset member Tawfiq Ziyad submitted a similar bill to restore Islamic properties to their owners. This bill highlighted a number of explications demonstrating the extent of official arbitrariness and brought out the most important problems suffered by the Islamic community due to its deprivation of the right to manage its own properties.

In the 11th Knesset, similar bills were resubmitted and a series of discussions was held about the state controller's report and the state controller committee's synopses about the fate of Islamic waqfs.

The said committee's report highlighted attorney David Levi's sympathy with the Arab Knesset members. The committee submitted a number of recommendations encouraging Arab members to intensify their efforts in this regard.

During the first session of the 11th Knesset, Knesset members Muhammad Watad and Tawfiq Tubi submitted two separate bills. Mr Watad submitted the bill he had presented to the 10th Knesset and Mr Tubi submitted the Islamic waqf bill for 1985.



The first year of the 11th Knesset ended with two bills submitted by Knesset members from two different blocs, both demanding the release of the Islamic waqfs and their restoration to their rightful owners. The appeal of Mr Tawfiq Ziyad on 8 July 1985 to Arab Knesset members Muhammad Watad, Muhammad Mi'ari and Abd-al-Wahhab Darawishah to submit a joint bill guaranteeing the release of the Islamic waqfs reinforced Arab demands for unifying the ranks of Arab Knesset members to regain our rights. Parachial partisan differences must not find a place in this struggle. All we can do at this point is to wait and see how serious Mr Ziyad's appeal is and how responsive the said Knesset members are to this appeal in order to attain the desired goal which is the restoration of Muslim properties to their rightful owners so that they may be used to raise the standard of our Palestinian community inside the Green line.

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OMAN

## OIL MINISTER DISCUSSES NATION'S TRADE WITH JORDAN

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 17 Oct 85 p 19

[Article: "The Sultanate of Oman's Minister of Oil and Minerals to AL-RA'Y: Al-Shanfari: Relations between Jordan and Oman Are Distinctive and Arise from the Relationship between Al-Husayn and Qabus"]

[Text] Mr Sa'id Ibn Ahmad al-Shanfari, the Sultanate of Oman's minister of oil and minerals, praised the firm relations that exist between Jordan and the sultanate and said that they arise from the distinctive brotherly relationship between His Majesty King Husayn and His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id, the Sultan of Oman.

He asserted "Jordan is a second Oman and our relationship with our Jordanian brothers is strong and distinguished from any other relationship in the framework of the Arab world."

In response to a question from AL-RA'Y's correspondent concerning cooperation in the oil sector between the two fraternal countries, Mr al-Shanfari said, "We in the Sultanate of Oman have been deficient in this regard, but we believe that the explanation for this is that the Energy Ministry in Jordan was established recently. We aspire to establish firm oil cooperation which will help strengthen national interests."

The Omani minister of oil and minerals asserted "His Majesty Sultan Qabus' instructions call for ongoing contact between Jordan and the facilitation of all measures to achieve comprehensive economic cooperation. We want to strengthen this cooperation. I personally aspire to establish coordination between the Ministry of Oil and Minerals in the Sultanate of Oman and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources in Jordan."

He said, "Jordan's great contribution and its help to the Sultanate of Oman in realizing stability are historic and we cannot forget them."

The conversation with His Excellency Sa'id Ibn Ahmad al-Shanfari, the Omani minister of oil and minerals, moved over to oil affairs and this income source's contribution to the tremendous development process which the Sultanate of Oman is witnessing in various areas, especially those of

construction and the economy. He said, "God has been generous with this resource to the Sultanate of Oman and we in our turn have intensified efforts to drill for oil, produce it and use it in the national interest."

The minister stated, "After the discovery of oil, the Sultanate of Oman proceeded to rely on it totally to meet its requirements and carry out development and reconstruction projects. However, the sultan's policy has been aware, and a policy of diversifying income sources has been drawn up, leading to a reduction in the rate of oil's contribution to national income from 91 to 63 percent of total national income in the past 10 years. We aim to reduce this rate during the next 5-year plan."

He said that serious, important attempts had been made to diversify the resources of the national economy so that development operations would not be totally dependent on oil. Of course, the policy of diversifying the Omani economy would continue to be carried out during the second 5-year plan, which would begin at the start of next year. In view of the increasing importance of oil and gas as an important source of energy in its various forms, their abundance in the sultanate has helped the process of industrialization and economic and social development.

The Omani minister of oil and minerals revealed "The efforts to diversify income sources have borne fruit and the copper project has come into being and existence. We hope that our efforts to discover other minerals which can help in the establishment of mining industries that will help develop the Omani national economy will succeed."

In response to a question on oil drilling activities, the minister said "The Sultanate of Oman's government, following the discovery of oil on its territories, has been anxious to encourage international oil companies to look for oil in the sultanate, and numerous agreements have actually been signed with oil companies with an international name and good reputation to drill for oil in the sultanate. The number of concession areas granted to those companies has totalled 13, with a group of companies supervising each of these areas. Here it is worthwhile for us to point out that oil exploration activities before 1970 did not receive adequate attention."

In response to a question on the magnitude of oil production in the sultanate, Mr al-Shanfari said that that was related to the country's need for the money necessary to progress in carrying out ambitious development projects and when the prices of oil dropped the sultanate worked to raise its production to 500,000 barrels a day to meet the difference in income so that work on carrying out development plans would not be delayed. He explained that the new oil discoveries had helped compensate for the latest rise in production and also to increase the Sultanate of Oman's oil reserves to 4 billion barrels; these had been 2.5 billion barrels in 1980.

He said that estimates indicated that natural gas reserves in the sultanate totalled 9 trillion cubic feet.

Concerning the marketing of oil and whether the Sultanate of Oman was facing obstacles in the context of the prevailing circumstances in the Gulf region,

the Omani minister of oil and minerals said "The Sultanate of Oman is not facing problems in marketing its oil, because of its good mutual relations with the companies buying Omani oil over a number of years. In addition to that, the sultanate's geographical location and the quality of Omani crude have attracted many customers and the Ministry of Oil and Minerals cannot respond to all the oil purchase applications it receives from abroad, from all areas of the world. Japan still heads up the countries and buys more than 60 percent of total production.

"The Omani oil export terminal also lies outside the Strait of Hormoz, which in turn induces customers to be receptive to buying our oil in order to guarantee the continued flow of oil to their countries."

In response to a question on whether national income from various sources would be adequate to meet the needs of the third 5-year plan, 1986-90, Mr al-Shanfari said "The country might be compelled to borrow to carry out the major diverse projects in the coming 5-year plan, since it is not expected that we should wait or waste time fruitlessly. Our goal is to realize and carry out our economic, reconstruction, industrial, agricultural and other plans without any procrastination."

He said, "We spend \$500 million a year in the field of intensifying efforts to discover new oil and gas fields." He went on to say that the initial signs, in any event, had been encouraging.

In response to a question on whether the construction of a new export pipeline with a productive capacity of from 650,000 to 1 million barrels a day, that is, double the productive capacity of the old line, was related to the rise in the volume of production, he said, "The new line, which will be opened early next month, was erected to replace the old line which was constructed close to 20 years ago, in the context of our reliance on planning for coming years and broad planning."

He referred to a proposal to build a pipeline transporting oil from Gulf Cooperation Council countries over Omani territory. Mr al-Shanfari said that studies on that subject had been completed and that it was expected that the council country oil ministers would take a decision on this subject at their meeting soon in Riyadh.

In response to a question on the Sultanate of Oman's failure to join the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, Mr al-Shanfari said "Oman's oil reserves when the organization was established were minor and did not offer an opportunity for us to join. Bearing in mind that the sultanate gives great attention to the organization and applies its statutes and pricing policy, it does not now aspire to become a member of it.

"When the Gulf Cooperation Council was established, and the Sultanate of Oman of course is a prominent member of it, we realized that the other five member countries of the council, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain, were members of OPFC, and in our view that should be considered adequate representation."

He said that the Gulf Cooperation Council countries did not urge the establishment of an independent Gulf organization because it would amount to duplication of the OPEC organization.

He pointed out that the Sultanate of Oman's revenues in the first half of 1985 came to 769 million Omani riyals as compared with 577 million Omani riyals during the same period last year.

The magazine MARKAZI issued by the Omani Central Bank ascribed this increase to the rise in oil production and to the increase in the revenues from exporting non-oil commodities, which came to 208 million Omani riyals in 1984 as compared with 146 million riyals in 1983.

The magazine estimated the Omani government's expenditures during 1983 at 1.7 billion riyals as compared with 1,488,000,000 riyals in 1982.

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OMAN

#### AGRICULTURAL SECTOR'S PLANS EXAMINED

Topic 30--MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 14 Sep 85 pp 44-46

[Text] The Sultanate of Oman is considered to be one of the greenest regions of the Arabian peninsula since the cultivated area in the sultanate is about 41,000 hectares. Therefore, the agricultural wealth in the country is one of the important main stays of the Omani economy; that is to say, it is an important source of many agricultural products that are essential for obtaining nutritional security by covering local consumption needs.

Almost half of the population of Oman works in agriculture, which produces a large and varied number of crops. Heading those is the cultivation of date trees, since the sultanate's date crops are considered to be among the most important national crops in the sultanate, and they had a distinguished position and a big, important role in the national economy before the discovery of oil. Perhaps the geographical location of the Sultanate of Oman and the nature of its lands and coasts make it suitable for building an advanced and growing agricultural economy in the country that will be an essential main stay in the diversification of national sources of income away from total dependence on oil.

Aware of this reality, Sultan Qabus stressed the need for agricultural development, and he was eager to give the agricultural sector more care and attention in the second 5-year plan, in which total expenditures in this field reached about 45 million Omani riyals, in addition to an amount of 28 million Omani riyals which were used to find and develop new water sources besides improving the current irrigation means which still depend to a large extent on a system of traditional water channels.

Irrigation waters are considered the central nerve for the development and expansion of agricultural lands. The Sultanate of Oman, by virtue of its geographical location, suffers from a scarcity of rain water that does not exceed 10 mm per year.

The Ministry of Agriculture has endeavored to make up for this lack by seeking new water sources, either by exploiting underground waters or by building dams and developing the existing irrigation canals and channels that were built by the ancient Omanis as an outstanding irrigation system that fits in with the nature of the Omani agricultural lands.



In the area of channels, over 300 of them have been repaired over the years. The ministry also offered assistance in digging new wells, 524, and it also reviewed 350 applications from people to find out how much water is available on their lands.

The ministry has built the Wadi al-Khaid dam project to capture and store all water that flows into the sea from Wadi Samayil. It is expected that this dam will provide fresh water in the amount of 4,680,000 cubic meters a year, which will help in solving the problems of salinity in the water and in the area of cultivated lands. The dam is 4.9 km long, 8 meters high and 7 meters thick. Wadi Samayil was selected as the location of this dam because it is one of the largest valleys in which large volumes of rain water flow.

The Wadi al-Jazi dam near Suhar has also been built. Its length is about 1,000 meters, with a height of 18 meters. It will store about 3 billion cubic meters a year, which will help in the cultivation of 100 hectares of new land in addition to providing water to existing agricultural land.

There are also plans to build a series of dams in Wadi Bani Khalid to al-Sharqiyah which help to reclaim 50 hectares of agriculture land. Also, two projects to supply underground water have been completed in the al-Sharqiyah regions and Wadi Qurayyat that will in turn result in the reclamation of more hectares of land, and work has begun on a protective barrier to grow crops in the Sur from sea water.

Project for building six walls to protect against flood waters have been prepared for the regions of al-Sar, Shuh and Manjah in al-Sharqiyah, and al-Najr al-Rasagh.

The canal of 'Ayn Harziz has also been reactivated and connected to the Fahjin farm project in Salalah, and 'Ayn Sahut has also been improved. The ministry had contracted with the Japanese agency for international cooperation to set up stations to observe the Valley floods and the rains and to determine the amount of surface and stored water in al-Batinah coastal plain. A station for meteorological observations has been built in the administrative district of al-Masna'ah, and al-Rustaq station has been improved.

The agricultural extension department has introduced new methods of cultivation that combine scientific development with the nature of the owner's crop. Farmers have been directed to spray their fertilizers instead of applying them to the soil, which helps to increase plant growth and fruit size, especially in citrus. Agricultural extension has also proceeded to the growth of watermelons and to train farmers in the cultivation of crops that have been introduced into the sultanate such as potatoes and other things, and the people have been directed towards using methods that involve the application of manufactured fertilizers in addition to organic fertilizers.

The ministry cooperates with the office of local community development in the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs to bring agricultural services to remote regions, and the number of farmers that benefitted from such extension services was 2,475 in 1984.

The ministry is working to interest citizens in using new international varieties of vegetable seed. It distributed among them about 11 tons of these seeds, and it also distributed free 11 tons of seed wheat and 100 tons of potatoes.

The ministry has also proceeded to extend mechanized farming to farmers in various regions, and it has distributed among them quantities of crop sprayers, in addition to using methods of aerial spraying using helicopters and airplanes.

The ministry is working to continue the establishment of experimental farms and agricultural research stations, which now number 24 extensions centers and 12 research stations. That is in addition to developing date and banana plants in al-Rastag and Nazwa, and a date cannery in Salalah. Also, the private sector is being encouraged to increase its participation in agricultural projects, such as the al-Shams farms project. These farms are considered among the largest farms of Oman where ownership is being transferred to the private sector. The Bank of Oman for Agriculture and Fisheries has been established to help farmers develop their agricultural products and lands.

The activities of the ministry also cover care and development of livestock and fish resources. Veterinary clinics have been set up in various sections of the sultanate, and they now number about 30 clinics. In addition, veterinary quarantine stations have been set up to keep an eye on imported animals and prevent the introduction of diseases and epidemics. The veterinary institute in al-Rumays is conducting a comprehensive survey of the diseases that afflict animals in the sultanate, and is studying raising livestock productivity with respect to meat, milk and eggs.

With regard to fish resources, the ministry is working to exploit this extensive marine resource in view of the length of the Omani shoreline. Studies have confirmed the existence of huge quantities for developing fishery resources in Omani waters and raising the annual yield of the most important group of them, which are the deep-sea fishes, so as to raise the yield to more than 500,000 tons annually, in addition to 1 million tons of sardines and about 60,000 tons of tuna.

During the first 5-year plan, the ministry spent about 15 million riyals to perform technical studies and to establish refrigeration units and ice factories in the fishing and marketing regions and to set up projects for transporting the fish in refrigerated trucks from the fishing regions to the markets; to provide boats, small appliances and nets to traditional fishermen; to establish wharves and anchorages for traditional fishermen's boats; to develop tools for catching special types of the fish resources such as shellfish and to set up special units for their production and marketing; and finally, to help in establishing modern fishing companies for the high seas and for exporting fish.

In April 1976, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries made an agreement with two Japanese fishing companies, Taiyo and Nishino Awaya, to fish in the

approximately 500 km in length, just between Masirah Island and Kuria-Muria Islands. The two companies bore the costs incurred by the fishing operations, which were limited to a group of deep-sea fishes. The government of the sultanate got 40 percent of the fish caught, leaving the rest for the companies. In addition to that, the companies trained 100 men on each of their fishing ships, use to their concession area, and they trained 5 others as captain's mates and nautical engineers at the regional fishing center in Kuwait. In addition to that, the companies were obligated to buy any surplus of the government's share of caught fish at a price set by the government. This agreement was in effect until November 1977, when it was replaced by the concession that was acquired by the Korean Overseas Fishing Company.

Accordingly, the company got a concession to fish coastal waters 60 nautical miles in length. It bears the cost of the fishing operation, and gets 70 percent of the fish caught, leaving the remaining percentage for the government. The company trains four men on board each fishing boat belonging to it and operating in the area of its concession. In addition to an employee to do the required nautical work in the industry. In addition to this, the company agreed to build a plant for fish food stuffs at a cost of \$4 million with a daily output of 3 tons sent to the fish production plant. This enterprise has taken the form of a company 60 percent of whose shares are owned by the government and 40 percent by the Korean company.

The year 1976 also saw the beginning of the establishment of essential facilities pertaining to fishing activities in the sultanate. In accordance with an agreement signed that year by the government with the Japanese commercial firm Araken Ltd, the company built a plant to service the fish production for the government at a cost of about 3 million riyals, in the area of the capital. It is an enterprise meant to exploit the fishery resources. The plant contains storage refrigerators that can hold 1,000 tons of fish and other food products, a freezing room with a daily capacity of 40 tons, a ice factory which has a daily output of 10 tons which later increased to 40 tons per day, and a unit for processing ice fish. That is in addition to five refrigerated trucks and three motorized fishing boats. The agreement also specifies that the company build two harbors facilities in terms of berths and anchorages along the shore, that it equips the fishing boats, and run the established installations for 3 years. With that, the government began to stock its share of the fish that it got from the Japanese companies, after having operated it all at free because of the lack of any such facilities before the fish production plant was built.

During 1976, the Saudi-owned company also took on the task of building another fish production plant in Salalah which has storage refrigerators with a capacity of 150 tons, and an ice factory with a daily output of 18 tons. It also supplies two refrigerated trucks. In addition to what was done, three other installations for fish production were set up to store large quantities of the surplus catch in preparation for distributing and marketing it at a later time. That was in addition to beginning to implement a program to build a large number of maritime workshops that would offer services and repair facilities for boats and other belonging to fishermen.

On 15 May 1980, the national Omani fishing company was founded to encourage the private sector to invest in the fish industry in the sultanate. It was established with a capital in the about of 1 million Omani riyals, of which the government's share is 20 percent of the capital.

In 1976 a fund was set up to support the fishermen. It enabled fishermen to get grants to buy boats, machines and other equipment. These grants are in amounts of up to two thirds of the value of the equipment, and the recipient is given to repay the remaining third in easy monthly installments.

As a step towards regulating fishing in Omani waters, in 1980 the government established the council for marine life, which set up a system of licensing fishing boats. It is also looking into the possibility of passing other regulations with the intention of effectively regulating this profession.

The council had been established by a royal decree, which decreed that Oman has sole fishing rights in the waters extending a distance of 200 nautical miles from its shores.

In 1981, a royal decree established the Oman Bank of Agriculture and Fisheries with a capital of 19 million Omani riyals to offer credit facilities to the two sectors that employ a large proportion of the Omani society, the agricultural and fishing sectors. In 1983, the bank granted loans to fishermen with a value of 1,971,000 Omani riyals for the distribution of 813 boats during the same year.

There is no doubt that the quantities of fish that are caught at the present time, ranging between 60,000 and 70,000 tons per year, are considered a small portion of what is present in Omani waters. Since surveys confirm the potential of obtaining 300,000 tons per year of fish from the ocean bottom, and it will also be possible to harvest about 40 tons of shrimp a year.

The center for marine science, which is now being built in Muscat, and which is expected to be completed this year, will conduct more research which will help the government to determine the permissible extent of commercial fishing. Beginning with the current year, it will also offer the technical assistance needed to develop the fishing industry in the country, in the hope that will lead to a better utilization of fish resources, which will effectively strengthen the national economy.

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## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

## FIG. 3. REPRESENTATIVE TITRATION BY AMPLIFIED LAMP NEGOTIATIONS

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Heard on occasion, with Jack Johnson, the representative in Cairo, by Howard Smith. "There and the Lord and 'Mc' [sic] from the Side Arranged in the world"; GORDON, THE ONE HEARD.

[Footnote 1] The Qing also wanted to make sure that the military and political power that were exercised by the Manchu rulers remained in the hands of the Manchus. In 1689, the Manchus and Russians signed the *Treaty of Nerchinsk*, which stipulated that the Manchus and Russians would not allow their subjects to cross the border and settle in the territory of the other. This was a clear statement of the Manchus' intention to keep the border area under their control.

"One thing more of the kidnapping incident reached me on Monday, the 1st of January at about midnight. A group of Egyptian officials called on me informing that an Italian ship had been hijacked by a group of armed Palestinians. The last information had sent a message to the Port Authority at Port Said that they had control of the ship. Meanwhile, brother Samy Iskander, a member of the central committee of the Syrian movement, was visiting Cairo. I took him the case and we went together to discuss the situation with prominent officials. I sat in touch with the PLO leadership in Turkish Consulate office as well as the military officials. From the first, the instructions of the general commander of the Palestinian revolutionaries came were clear and direct to fight. Immediate intervention is necessary to give the possibility to our country, one of consideration for the lives of the innocent citizens and all of consideration that the ship is Italian, and that there are 700 souls were involved with us with great responsibility. We appealed to the national unity coalition against PLO leadership or FRODO. We appeal too that this time must have to the PLO and inflict great harm on the interests of the nation in its efforts."

[illegible]

Disregarding the engine, exhaust, fuel and intake apparatus, there was the rest of the big black ship. The largest one in the fleet used heavy reconnaissance planes that were common to most of the ships, and it had 100 fighters stationed on its deck.

After departure of the ship, the Achille Lauro, from Egyptian territorial waters was confirmed, the Egyptian-Palestinian working group returned to Cairo, at 8:00 in the evening, for Ghadi al-Nurik to make contact again with the Palestinian leadership in Tunisia.

At 7:00 in the morning of Wednesday, 4 Oct 1985, an urgent telegram was received in the central operations room in Cairo from the Port Authority in Port Sa'ida, saying that the hijacked ship had entered Egyptian territorial waters and that it intended to be making its way to Port Sa'ida. As soon as the news was received, the group moved to Port Sa'ida, including Abu al-'Abbas, Ghadi al-Nurik and representatives of the Egyptian national security forces. They had one goal: rescue of the hostages.

With the direct assistance of Abu al-'Abbas, who was in Cairo by coincidence (11), contact was made with the four hijackers, who set out basic conditions, including the presence of the ambassadors from the United States, Britain, Germany, and Italy to negotiate with them, the release of their comrade Samir Bontari, the leader of the 1979 "Abanish" operation and the release of one Palestinian prisoner in Israeli jails. Difficult negotiations went back and forth for 6 and 12 hours, interspersed with lengthy moments of tension. The negotiations began at 7:00 in the morning of 4 Oct 1985 and ended at 1:00 in the afternoon.

Ghadi al-Nurik picks up the thread and wants to relate details of the direct negotiations with the four hijackers: "We were on shore in the Port Authority of Port Sa'ida. We--that is, the Egyptian-Palestinian working group--went together to launch towards the ship. We covered the distance to the open sea in about 4 hours, without stopping and making contact and then resuming the journey. The hijacked ship was on the open sea, outside Egyptian territorial waters. The ship became visible to us from a distance, and we could see the four hijackers on the bridge. I began to talk with one of them, the leader of the group, Ghadi. From memory I repeat some of what I remember of the detailed conversation between him and myself:

[Ghadi al-Nurik:] "Ghadi, I speak to you in the name of the Palestinian people, in the name of the struggle of all peoples, in the name of the human struggle, in the name of the free. I demand that you and this people's situation, out of consideration for all of the people within the world are free, struggling."

[Ghadi:] "What are you and what is your concern? How do I know you?"

[Ghadi al-Nurik:] "Ghadi, I am Ghadi al-Nurik, the representative of the PLO in Egypt and representative of the PLO."

[Ghadi:] "What can I be certain of your identity? I do not recognize you, I know, I know that the representative of the PLO in Egypt is Ghadi al-Nurik, but what is the group?"

[Ghadi al-Nurik:] "I am speaking to you and myself. I am Ghadi al-Nurik, the representative of the PLO in Egypt, and we do not want to leave it. I demand that you keep the ship and the hostages until we can come to the point of the ship and the hostages together."



[Majid] "Who will guarantee me that there is no trap? Who will guarantee me that I and my comrades will not be betrayed?"

[Zuhdi al-Qudrah] "You know, absolutely, that Egypt is not treacherous. Egypt has never betrayed the Palestinians or shed the blood of a single Palestinian. This is my guarantee to you. Besides, I am not carrying a weapon, and no one on the launch, Egyptian or Palestinian, is carrying a weapon. Come over to us and we will negotiate and come to an agreement. The important thing is that I have received a promise from all of the Egyptian officials for your safety until the negotiations end. We only want to end this situation immediately."

[Majid] "I also ask for guarantees if I leave my place and come over to you."

[Zuhdi al-Qudrah] "Your guarantee is the promise of Egypt. Your guarantee is that you and your comrades are armed and that you have the power to kill me on the spot if anything untoward happens."

Zuhdi al-Qudrah pauses a while and then continues: "There were a few anxious moments, as the four youths had all of their weapons trained on me and the ship had been ringed with mines.

"Majid came down the ladder of the Achille Lauro and approached the launch. He was carrying his machine gun and a bandolier around his body with a number of grenades."

Negotiations resumed between Zuhdi al-Qudrah and Majid, the leader of the hijackers, on the launch. "Eventually, the efforts were successful, and agreement was reached on the necessity of the hijackers leaving the ship and surrendering themselves to us and the Egyptian authorities, who would then transfer them to an agency determined by the PLO for their trial. After that, the gravity of the operation became clear to them, and its affect on the struggle of our people."

Here, Zuhdi al-Qudrah noted the following observations:

"First: The leader of the group, and the rest of his comrades, assured me that they had not hurt any of the ship's passengers, either by improper speech or by any affront or any act injurious to him or to the Palestinian people.

"Second: After that, the four hijackers surrendered themselves on board the launch. I spoke personally with the captain of the Italian ship. I apologized to him in the name of the PLO. I informed him of the PLO's condemnation of an action such as this and that the four hijackers would be tried by the PLO leadership.

"Third: I asked the captain of the ship: 'Did you have any killing, wounds or injuries?' He denied that, absolutely. Further, he emphasized that the four hijackers had treated the passengers of the ship with the utmost civility.

"Fourth: One of the Egyptian officials asked the captain of the ship, in an official capacity and in the name of the Egyptian government, whether there had been any killing, wounds or injuries. He denied that emphatically."

"Fifth: I learned from the four hijackers that none of them had intended to attack the passengers or the ship, but that their primary goal was to go to the port of Ashdod to carry out a military operation against Israel. But a breach occurred in the plan when one of the ship's sailors discovered the presence of the four hijackers in a cabin of the ship while they were preparing their weapons. He rushed out to the passengers of the ship. There was nothing for the four hijackers to do but to announce their seizure of the ship and impose their conditions."

Zuhdi al-Qudrah's negotiations with the leader of the group concluded. The leader requested a delay to consult with his comrades. The launch returned to the ship, a rope was lowered and the leader of the group climbed up to meet his comrades. Then he announced the decision to agree to surrender themselves. Shouts of joy rose from the passengers.

The launch got under way again, returning to Port Sa'id. From there, the group went to Cairo. With that, their task was concluded, peacefully. The Achille Lauro and passengers had been rescued. At 7:30 that same evening, the relevant authorities informed Zuhdi al-Qudrah that President Mubarak had decided to surrender the four hijackers to the PLO for trial.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

'ARAFAT OFFERS COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF MOVEMENT. ATMS

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 2-8 Nov 85 pp 33-43

[Interview with Yasir 'Arafat, Chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee, by Bakr 'Uwaydah: "There Is No Super-Revolution --Let Whoever Is Free of Blunders Cast a Thousand Stones at It"]

[Excerpt] AL-TADAMUN: There are people who, mulling over the conditions of the Palestinian revolution, feel that it has been turned into an institution by the name of the Palestine Liberation Organization and that the organization, with the sum total of its agencies, is an undeclared state, a state in which a bureaucracy exists and which sometimes seems to have a flabby body, and so forth. Has this situation detracted from the revolution's stock? Is it at the expense of the revolution?

Abu 'Ammar: They have not found fault with the rose; they have described it as red-petaled! I might point out that after 1970 we were exhausted with talk about the Tupumaros (urban guerrillas in Latin America), with Byzantine debates in the Arab press, especially the Lebanese press, about the Tupumaros. There were many questions along the lines of "Why isn't the Palestinian revolution in the Vietnamese mold or the Algerian mold?" The people who ask this question do not want to accept the obvious answer, which is that the Palestinian revolution must be Palestinian, because it has its special nature and it has its own problems. It has its own hopes and it has its own pains. It has its difficulties, which make it unique of its kind. It is the revolution of the flying carpet. Sixty percent of our people are outside the land and 40 percent are under occupation. It is not an ordinary occupation but rather a settlement occupation by 3.5 million Israelis, in the sense that those of our people who remain under occupation confront 3.5 million settlers, residents, and on top of that we have no base from which to take off the way Hanoi functioned relative to the Vietnamese revolution. When we created the Hanoi of the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon, they sent an Arab regime toward it with its forces in 1976 with the objective of crushing it. It failed, though, and we managed to reach a settlement with it, after which this regime brought its forces into Lebanon in accordance with its agreement with Henry Kissinger. The revolution withdrew at that time into the camps and we headed south, below latitude 37 degrees 10 minutes [sic], that is, beyond al-Zahrani. There there were no Syrian forces, whose leader

at that time, Col Muhammad al-Khuli, insisted on considering weapons of the B-7 class to be heavy weapons and insisted on stripping the camps of them. When they failed to crush the Palestinian revolution, they experimented with getting the Israeli military machine to assume the task; 169,000 Israeli soldiers supported by the navy and air force were mobilized to destroy the Palestinian revolution. An important observation is necessary here, which is that Israel had never mobilized such a contingent on any Arab front. They imagined, indeed officially declared, that the situation would not take more than 2 days, perhaps 3, for the Israeli invasion to realize its objectives. However, it is enough for us to follow up on the continuous uprisings that are taking place now on our occupied territory to confirm that the Palestinian revolution still exists, still is effective and influential.

AL-TADAMUN: But what about the relationship between the revolution as a revolution and the organization with its agencies and so forth?

Abu 'Ammar: When the FATAH movement entered the body of the organization in 1969, the organization became the revolution and the revolution the organization. We paused a long time to consider this equation, especially when the (late) President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir pressed on us in FATAH the need to enter the organization and not leave this Palestinian entity. I was one of those who opposed this and rejected having FATAH enter the Liberation Organization. Even when I was elected chairman of the organization's executive committee, in place of the late Ahmad al-Shuqayri, I was not present in the meeting hall. However, it became established that my opposition was wrong and it was established that if we left the Liberation Organization another revolution would have come about.

AL-TADAMUN: Another revolution: what does that mean?

Abu 'Ammar: What another revolution means is two revolutions and two legitimate authorities.

#### Revolutionary Spirit and Legitimacy

AL-TADAMUN: However, there are people who consider that the FATAH movement which advocated armed struggle in 1965 at a time when the other currents and parties were inundated in theoretical party activity could have constituted the revolutionary shield keeping the Liberation Organization from slipping toward state bureaucracy, had it, that is FATAH, remained outside the organization and not become inundated in its problems.

Abu 'Ammar: That is a hypothesis, just a hypothesis. At the same time there is another hypothesis, which is that this situation would have led to the existence of two legitimate authorities instead of a single one, which is the most dangerous thing a people's cause can face. What happened is that we in FATAH wedded "revolutionary spirit" to "legitimacy." I mean, we combined revolutionary legitimacy, as represented by FATAH, with the legitimate authority the Arab regimes had agreed over, as represented by the Liberation Organization. This wedding of the two conditions was necessary and enabled us, as a spirit of Palestinian revolutionary legitimacy, to dominate the situation by both sides. In addition to that, we must not forget that we

managed, by means of the Palestinian fighting man, this entity which the Palestine Liberation Organization represents. This entity indeed became the identity of the Palestinian people with all its three dimensions, the revolutionary, combative and legitimate dimensions. That is, the organization, during the long stage of struggle, became the existence of the Palestinian people, its rights, its hopes, its identity and its land. I mean the political ground on which all Palestinians of different political tendencies and affiliations stand. It is true that this situation has created burdens for the revolutionaries, I mean the bureaucratic burdens you referred to, but, in spite of these burdens, it has been necessary for the revolution to sustain its role in the organization's leadership on grounds that it has been the Palestinian people's political entity. However, some brothers more than once have raised the question why we do not declare a Palestinian government in exile. I would always reply by saying, isn't the Palestine Liberation Organization with its bureaucratic burdens enough for us, why should we enter into the turmoil of a government in exile? In spite of all this, I must refer to an important point, whose gist is that alongside these bureaucratic vexations which we bear under compulsion, we have obtained international recognition for ourselves as a people. One hundred thirty-seven member countries in the United Nations recognize the Palestinians as a people with their rights which must be respected, foremost among them the right to go back to their territory and establish their independent state. What does this recognition mean? It means that the internationally legitimate authorities are now on our side, helping us; that would not have happened had the Palestine Liberation Organization not existed and been headed by the revolutionary command representing the Palestinian people. Those who have forgotten or pretended to forget, I say that Moshe Dayan announced, in 1967 specifically, when a French journalist asked him about the Palestinian resistance, Dayan's response was as follows: "What Palestinian resistance? Do you mean the group of saboteurs? It is small and we can crush it at any time." Time passed, and it happened that in 1974 I was invited to give a talk at the United Nations, in my capacity as head of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Moshe Dayan was there and he was in conversation with a group of Israel's supporters outside the United Nations building. They raised banners on which was written: "Arafat go home." As I came out of the United Nations building they repeated the same phrase, and I stopped and faced them: "Yes, I want to go home, and nothing else." Thus the Palestine Liberation Organization was the first revolutionary liberation movement to get into the United Nations and obtain an observer's seat in 1974, and after that the door was opened to other liberation organizations. Therefore it is not permissible for us to hold the Palestine revolution on the political entity as represented by the organization to account without forgetting that this revolution -- and to repeat, it is the flying carpet revolution, and does not stand on its own territory -- has its own character, just as we must not forget that our revolution has created new standards of revolutionary action, such as entering into the political arena and participating in an international podium such as the United Nations, not to talk about the democratic practice by which our revolution has been characterized, from which it has been made a new tradition of revolutionary action.

AL-TADAMUN: The analysis you have been so kind to present undoubtedly answers what was stated at the beginning of the first question, and there

no one who would deny that the Palestinian revolution has realized some of its political achievements. However, we also understand from your response that you agree that a sort of mistake has taken place, arising from bureaucratic burdens which have been placed on the shoulder of the revolution as it undertakes to lead the organization as a political institution.

Abu 'Ammar: It is true that that has happened. It is true that there are some things which we bear, which have been a burden of a greater degree than the revolutionary body can bear, but it is an experiment, and in this regard I can ask, can the revolutionary body bear the exercise of democracy, for example? Have you heard of democratic practice in a revolutionary movement before?

#### The Revolution and Bureaucracy

AL-TADAMUN: This question has actually been asked, but it is asked of you, in the sense that there are some people who consider that the Palestinian revolution does not have to have a parliament in exile. This parliament is the National Council, with all the complications that accompany it, meeting, from administrative to organizational complications to arguments over seats, not to speak of the exorbitant cost it comes to. The people who ask this question say "We did not hear of a national council for the Vietnamese revolution meeting in Moscow, for example, we did not hear that the Algerian revolution had a parliament whose sessions were held in Cairo," and so forth.

Abu 'Ammar: Yes, it is true, this did not happen in the case of the Vietnamese or the Algerian brothers, because there was no argument over the Vietnamese identity or the Algerian identity. However, there is a campaign against the Palestinian identity. There is a Zionist campaign, which is supported in the American and European framework, to obliterate the Palestinian identity for good and allege that there are no people by the name of the Palestinian people, so that the process of substituting the Zionist identity for the Palestinian identity may be facilitated. Therefore, the Palestinian revolution was compelled to devise a formula which was in keeping with its fighting requirements. Within this equation, it was necessary to found Palestinian institutions which would establish the existence of the Palestinian people, their political presence and their resources of civilization, in addition to their fighting capabilities. This is the significance of having a Palestinian parliament in exile. It is sufficient for us to note this international media phenomenon which accompanies the holding of each Palestine National Council session to see the importance of this parliamentary institution and the importance of having the world press and the radio and television stations come to record in words and pictures this distinct pursuit of democracy on the part of a people outside their land and the liberation of 40 percent of its masses under Zionist settler occupation. Then, as proof of the genuineness of this line and the virtue of this platform, it is enough for us to say that it has been continuing and going on for 21 years. This point should be considered in the revolution's favor and should not be considered against it. If it is necessary to talk about problems and excesses, why the notion that the Palestinian revolution alone must be a "super-revolution," without problems? There are problems in every



revolution. The Algerian revolution had problems, the Vietnamese, the Cubans, as well, and the Cuban revolution; I always keep telling my brothers and comrade revolutionaries that revolution, any revolution, is like a burning fire; you can see it from afar and like its bright blaze, get close to it and enjoy the warmth coming from it, then go into it and get burnt.

#### Resignations from FATAH

AL-TADAMUN: However, in the same context, the context of problems, democracy and right and wrong, how can you explain the departure from the ranks of the FATAH movement of a number of movement members who had reached a leadership position? Did all the people who protested, at some time, and all the people who said "no" to some things, do so under provocation from foreign bodies, and not out of a patriotic motive, after they had become distressed that their views were not heard?

Abu 'Ammar: To the contrary, what we in the FATAH movement are criticized for is that democracy among us is "heavy on the sugar," as some brothers like to call it. The fact is that many friends and brothers find fault with us for this and tell us that we in FATAH are giving democracy more than it deserves. Up to this moment, you may have noticed the statements by our brother movement leaders, each stating what he wants. That is, we have never happened to prevent anyone from stating his opinion. I for example submitted my resignation five times; each time it was rejected. I also always say that I did not put myself in this position through a military coup and therefore I am not preventing anyone from stating his opinion inside the Palestine National Council or inside the FATAH conferences. Indeed, the democracy in the FATAH conferences has caused us some vexations in the struggle, such as exposing patriotic Arab personnel who had been cooperating with us in secret, as happened during our resistance to al-Sadat's regime and so forth.

AL-TADAMUN: Might there be an explanation, here, of what happened exactly?

Abu 'Ammar: What happened is that because of the extreme democracy, some brother leaders were compelled to disclose secrets at a FATAH conference concerning the cooperation of some personnel who were inside al-Sadat's system but rejected Camp David and cooperated with us and provided us with important information. When that was revealed at the conference, the situation in that regard was exposed and a high price was paid. Therefore what I want to say is that there has been no obstacle to anyone stating his opinion. No FATAH personnel have happened to face any kind of oppression because of their opinions. At many FATAH conferences, I have said things which were not accepted and were not adopted, in spite of my leadership position, and I have been compelled to commit myself to resolutions and views in spite of my lack of conviction in them. However, there is a difference between an opinion which is presented from a subjective premise and one stated by a person who is prompted by foreign powers to carry out a sabotage operation within the revolution. If you mean those people who have split off from the movement, I can say it clearly, yes, everyone who has split off from the movement and sided with one regime or another has committed treason, and there is no room for drawing back from this verdict. Mustafa Kamil said "Whoever if only once neglects one of his country's rights will forever be shaken in

his belief and weak in his conscience." I would like to ask these people who split off and indeed ask the whole Salvation Front whether they managed to deflect the fire from our camps. Aren't they the ones who said that I do not want armed struggle, then signed the Damascus agreement stripping the camps in Lebanon of weapons? Aren't they the ones who attacked me because I met with Husni Mubarak, the man who inherited what he did from al-Sadat and nonetheless was not remiss in standing by our people as they were being slaughtered and by our fighting men as they left Lebanon? They attacked me for my meeting with Mubarak, and did not utter a single word of protest against Ili Hubayqah's reception in Damascus. Has Hubayqah now become a hero? Isn't he the one who played the second main role in the massacres of Sabra and Shatila? Unfortunately, these people who have split off are not in charge of their own decisions. They have agreed to be tools for other people.

AL-TADAMUN: If you will allow us, brother Abu 'Ammar, we can go back to this point, but the question revolved around the margin of democracy within the FATAH movement and the extent to which this margin has been sufficiently accommodating to offer differing views or opposition views room to assume their dimension in a manner which will prevent rifts from taking place. In your response, it was cited that opposition views always had an opportunity, but people following the course of the movement will note that cases have occurred where people left the movement, just as resignations from the movement have occurred, and not necessarily rifts.

Abu 'Ammar (interrupting): Resignations from the movement, that is not true. The problem is that resignations are not made in FATAH.

AL-TADAMUN: It is well known that there are personnel and people with leadership positions who have left or resigned.

Abu 'Ammar: Such as who?

AL-TADAMUN: Please, if you would, excuse us from mentioning names, but there are FATAH personnel who reached high organizational positions in the movement then left, or preferred to remove themselves, not to say resign, because they felt that their opinion was not being heard. Here an example occurs to us which we hope you will be so generous as to let us present, which is related to the holding of the movement's fourth conference, which was postponed more than 2 years. At that time it was said that Abu 'Ammar, specifically, stood against everyone who advocated the holding of the fourth conference, and problems occurred within the movement because of this position.

Abu 'Ammar: That is not true. I challenge anyone to prove that I opposed the holding of any of the movement's conferences. When the fourth conference was held, members were promoted to the conference whose acquisition of membership in the movement's general conference I was not personally satisfied with, and whose advent at the conference I could have prevented. Nonetheless, I did not.

Note: At this point al-Tayyib 'Abd-al-Rahim, member of the FATAH revolutionary council, intervened and stated the following: "Our brother Abu 'Ammar

was one of the people who were most extremely enthusiastic over the holding of the fourth conference, specifically, while the people who caused the rift were against the holding of the conference because they anticipated that their membership in the conference would lapse when it was held. However, our brother Abu 'Ammar's protection of them kept their membership in the conference for them and deepened it, proceeding from his statement, 'Let a thousand flowers bloom in the garden of the revolution.'"

Abu 'Ammar continued: "I remember that I spoke before the conference in an intervention which lasted for a period of 6 hours in order to convince the conference members to vote again over the membership of Abu Salih (the main person causing the rift) because I had been absent from the conference for 24 hours to deal with the outbreak in the southern suburb of Beirut. When I came back I found that everything was in an uproar and Abu Salih was in a severe state of distress because the conference was against him and against his membership. I intervened for a period of 6 hours to re-establish his membership. This is just one example. In any event, it would be better for this conversation not to draw us into this vortex, because if we talk about it we will give it more than its true weight. In this case, you seem like someone who is trying to bring the dead back to life, especially after the war of the camps happened to remove all the veils and expose the conspiracy and the conspirators. Aren't they Hafiz al-Asad's allies? Why didn't they protect these camps? Why didn't they protect Tripoli, which is now being slaughtered (at the time the interview was held, the war in Tripoli was at its most intense)? So let us desist from bringing life back to rotten bones."

#### What Is Forbidden and What Is Proper

AL-TADAMUN: By asking, we were not talking about the subject of the rift which occurred recently. Rather, it is a question about the margin of democracy within FATAH and the Liberation Organization. Let us ask, for example, about the organization's media. Would it be permitted for there to be a conflict with your opinion in the journal FALASTIN AL-THAWRAH for example? Would you allow the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement to be criticized on its pages?

Abu 'Ammar: It seems that you have not read it. It publishes many views of people who oppose me. The movement's political commissioner sometimes publishes articles that express his personal opinion and not the position of the command.

AL-TADAMUN: Would you yourself personally allow an opposition cartoonist to publish his drawings in the organization's press?

Abu 'Ammar: If the drawings had an objective content and did not attack our people and our revolution and did not laugh at our struggle. Constructive, objective criticism is permitted, forbidden things are not permitted. Whoever touches on forbidden things commits treason!

AL-TADAMUN: What are the forbidden things? What are the red lines in the exercise of democracy within the revolution?

Abu 'Ammar: The forbidden things are encroachments on our people, our cause and our revolution; welcome to every objective criticism against the conduct of any commander of the revolution, but not to everyone who tries to infringe on the people and their cause and their revolution. It is a forbidden thing for the revolution to be attacked in the interests of foreign parties, in the media, politically or militarily. It is a forbidden thing for a Palestinian to make his position contingent on parties which are trying to liquidate the revolution. It is not possible to deal with anyone committing these forbidden things.

#### Conflicting Lines of Thought and the Story of the Launch

AL-TADAMUN: Then is what has been said and what the press publishes from time to time about conflicting lines of thought within the FATAH command and views reaching the point of dispute correct?

Abu 'Ammar: Yes, it is correct. Conflicting lines of thought sometimes exist. This is not a defect, but rather is proof of health and proof of the exercise of democracy. However, the press, especially the Western press, deals with this question out of a sort of ill will. It tries to say that we within the command are on the verge of a schism, as if it was proper for them in Western democracy to differ and for ideas and thoughts to clash in order to arrive at a proper opinion, or the opinion of the majority, and forbidden for us to have the same thing. It appears that they do not like us when we have a democratic practice and they do not like us without it either!

AL-TADAMUN: There are many questions in mind in the context of the Palestinian household, and even in the context of the FATAH household (a reference to the FATAH movement), if one may use the expression. For example, it has been stated in Mr Alan Hart's book titled "Yasir 'Arafat -- Terrorist or Peacemaker?" that at some point in your early period in FATAH a sort of clash of wills arose within the leadership, one aspect of which was that you were extremely enthusiastic about starting military operations while others opposed you, and that you did not pay heed to their opposition although they deprived you of money and weapons and you yourself sought aid with Father 'Ayyad and asked him for his support so that you could start the military operations. Don't you consider this a violation on your part of the commitment to democracy of decisionmaking in the leadership?

Abu 'Ammar: First of all, I am anxious to state that Mr Alan Hart's book is not an argument against me, because in spite of my extreme respect and appreciation for the effort the writer has made, and he is a man who is a friend and his effort is laudable, most of what is in the book are accounts ascribed to some brothers, and not accounts of mine. Therefore, they are not binding on me. However, with respect to this incident specifically, what happened was as follows by nature: I was the chairman of the Military Council during the secret stages of the movement's life and spent part of my time moving about within the occupied territories, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. I moved about in a secret manner, whenever my leaves permitted me to do so, with the goal of preparing for the military takeoff and in my capacity as chairman of the military council. I happened to consider, along with some

of my brothers in the military council, that the circumstances for an armed takeoff had ripened. This situation was in 1964. We went to the movement's central committee and said that we were ready for an armed takeoff, and a decision was taken by a majority within the military committee. One member of the committee said, no, we are not ready, because in order to start an armed takeoff we must have 4,000 rifles and 1 million dinars in our possession. My view was that this talk was illogical because if no revolution begins unless it had 4,000 rifles and 1 million dinars, it would not begin, while we could begin the armed takeoff with what was available to us. The majority of the military committee supported me in this, but some of my brothers in the central committee agreed with the view of our brother in opposition in the military committee. A long discussion was held inside the central committee in this regard. At that time, we may all remember, the Palestine National Council met in Jerusalem and the Arab summit met in September 1964 and took a decision to form the Palestine Liberation Army. Some of my brothers came and told me that since the Arab countries had decided to form a Palestinian army, we would not be stronger than that army and our resources would not be stronger than those of the Arab countries. However, our opinion in the military council did not change, and we said that that army would not initiate guerrilla activity. The central committee was split between the people supporting our point of view in the military council and the people opposing it. The dispute continued for a long period, until the representatives of the movement members in Qatar and Saudi Arabia settled it. The dispute was settled on the basis of a recommendation which I and the martyr Abu Yusuf al-Najjar had presented, when we asked our brothers, Why the hesitation? and the answer was that there was fear that military action would start and would fail and that with its failure FATAH would be eliminated. Our response to that was that we could start the armed takeoff under another name or other auspices besides those of FATAH and if the military body was struck the political organization would remain. Therefore, we offered a recommendation for a takeoff in the name of the lightning forces. The recommendation was accepted, but the central committee imagined that it would be better that the military council have collective leadership, out of fear that Abu 'Ammar would implicate the movement in military operations. Abu Yusuf al-Najjar and Abu al-Adib (Salim al-Za'atun) were assigned to head the military committee, and I myself committed myself to the decision although I was the military commander. The decision was then taken to carry out the first operation, which was the Aylabun tunnel operation. I actually did visit Father 'Ayyad, I and our brother Abu Jihad, and we informed him of the decision to take off. This is the actual situation, as it occurred. Six months of argument to adopt the decision to take off -- isn't that an embodiment of the exercise of democracy?

#### The Relationship with Habash and the Other Forces

AL-TADAMUN: Moving the discussion over from FATAH's affairs and concerns to its relations with the other Palestinian forces, the first question which comes to mind is the relationship between FATAH and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and between Yasir 'Arafat on the one hand and George Habash on the other. On the subject of this relationship, one notes that the relationship between the two organizations has continued to exhibit a particular degree of respect and that the relationship between you and the



wise man (George Habash) has for its part been characterized by a significant degree of respect. Indeed, I am not pointing out that Dr Habash attacked you personally in your statements, and so forth.

Abu 'Ammar (interrupting): No, the fact is that Dr George Habash attacked me personally recently and violated the rule you referred to. It is true that during the period of the political dispute between us, between FATAH and the Popular [Front], we ourselves did not try to hurt their feelings. We did not use the technique of defamation as an organization nor am I for my part against Dr George, though they for their part used defamation against us. For example, they said that we capitulated the day the National Council embraced the 10-point program, and they described us as traitors the day I went to the United Nations and gave a talk in the name of Palestine. They gave us the description of defeatists the day we spoke of an independent state on any area of Palestine that is liberated. Indeed, they withdrew from membership in the organization's executive committee on the argument that they had discovered American-Palestinian contacts led by Dr Walid al-Khaldi, by our agreement, and stayed outside the organization for a period of 5 years. Unfortunately, on some occasions they excluded the element of accurate analysis of the situation. I might point out that they once at a National Council session embraced the idea that there was pressure on Yasir 'Arafat to accept the idea of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. At that time I asked them, "Where is this pressure? Show it to me so that I can respond to it at once." Now of course they have discovered that these things that they kept saying were not accurate. In any event, we for our part did not reply to them. The relationship remained one of respect, as you described it, in spite of all the attacks on the part of their media. However, recently Dr George himself erred against me personally. Nonetheless, I have not answered him, although I was amazed at the agreement on his part over the slaughter of the camps; he has not protested.

AL-TADAMUN: But he did protest, made clear statements at press conference against what happened in the camps and criticized the Syrian position of support for the AMAL movement.

Abu 'Ammar: When he protested, the Popular Front issued an internal circular (bulletin) stating that the criticisms of the Syrian position that had issued could be attributed to the presence of bourgeois seeds in the command. That is what paved the way for the doctor's return to Damascus. Here I ask him, isn't God's earth vast enough for you to live on it? I do not believe that it is an honor for any fighting man for George Habash and Eli Hubayqah to be together in Damascus. I do not understand how George Habash can back down from the truthful statement he made in Algeria and then in Kuwait.

AL-TADAMUN: Actually, the question about relations between you was to end as follows: wasn't there an opportunity, or opportunities, for all forces with a left-wing orientation to join the People's Front so that there would be two strong organizations on the Palestinian stage and their differences, no matter how intense they became, would not be as great as those arising from the presence of a number of organizations?

Abu 'Ammar: That would have required a resolution on the part of the Popular Front, not us. There is a front which is no less important than the Popular



[Front], and that is the Democratic Front, which is considered a basic organization.

AL-TADAMUN: But you in FATAH are accused of having helped Nayif Hawatimah's split and consequently the establishment of the Democratic Front with the goal of weakening the Popular Front.

Abu 'Ammar: Once again, that is an unjust charge and there is no basis to it.

AL-TADAMUN: Wasn't there protection on your part for Democratic [Front] personnel when the Popular [Front] effected the split?

Abu 'Ammar: There was protection, yes, not with the goal of protecting or encouraging the rift but to prevent fighting among Palestinians. Is it desirable that we should see Palestinians fighting and not intervene? We prevented fighting between them in the streets of Amman. Yes, that happened, and ought to have happened, just as I intervened one day and saved Ahmad Jabril, and brought him to my bedroom myself. He was the one who then stood by the gates to the al-Baddawi camp in Tripoli saying that he would pursue Yasir 'Arafat to the end.

AL-TADAMUN: There are people who hold FATAH responsible for disregarding the establishment of small organizations and consequently the incomprehensible proliferation on the Palestinian stage. In other words, there are people who ask why FATAH did not deliberately establish small organizations from the beginning, had it been able to.

Abu 'Ammar: No, that is not the way to put it. We were faced with two options, to liquidate everyone or give everyone free rein. When some people say, Why didn't you liquidate everyone? they are expressing an opinion, an individual theory, which the coming generations will judge. I mean, they will judge for or against us in this regard. We must not forget here that prior to the establishment of the Zionist entity the Palestinian people's revolutions were characterized by this negative feature, the negative feature of liquidations which were one of the Achilles heels of our people's revolutions. The masses kept rebuking the Mufti (al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni) on this point. I do not need to remind one that the Mufti, as far as we all are concerned, is one of our national leaders and we cherish him. However, a large segment of our people rebukes him over this issue of liquidations.

#### The Little Tyrant Directors

AL-TADAMUN: Among the criticisms directed against the operating methods of some of the organization's institutions, criticisms are made in gatherings of people, whether they are Palestinians or Arabs of different countries, of officials in the organization on grounds that their conduct could be described as arrogance and not a revolutionary spirit. For example there are some Liberation Organization office directors who act arrogantly and it sometimes seems easier to get in touch with you than with them. Indeed, some of them have started to get angry if one does not give them the title of "Your excellency the ambassador" instead of brother so-and-so.

Abu 'Ammar: I have an opinion on these people, or those certain people you are talking about, and I am well known for a statement I keep making about them. Our brother al-Tayyib 'Abd-al-Rahim will testify in my behalf on that. I call them little tyrants, little tyrants in the revolution -- not all the office directors. of course.

AL-TADAMUN: No, not all, but some.

Abu 'Ammar: Yes, some of them are caesars, or little tyrants, but there are office directors who have martyred themselves, from Sa'id Hamami to al-Hamshari, 'Izz-al-Din Qalaq and Na'im Khudayr. That is, we must not forget that the list of martyrs among office directors alone contains 67 martyrs, in the form of office directors and assistant directors, including people who have been killed by Israeli intelligence and people Arab intelligence agencies have killed. However, it is true that some of them to this moment are still acting as if they were little tyrants. Conversely, there are people who work day and night for the sake of the revolution and its cause. Out of fairness to the facts, I must point out that some of them are working under extremely difficult circumstances. That is, our representative in the Congo, for instance, has spent 11 years working there in a difficult country the likes of the Congo, or our representative in Ghana, Laos or Vietnam, these people are working under difficult conditions, have not complained and have not said, "Transfer us to Paris, Rome or London." Then while some countries recognize the Liberation Organization offices as embassies, give them diplomatic immunity and deal with the organization's representatives as ambassadors, they must act as diplomats and ambassadors. The essential point in this matter is that we cannot put everyone in the same basket, isn't that so? Moreover I am in favor of criticism, indeed harsh criticism, of everyone who acts wrongfully within the revolution. It is not just some office directors who act wrongfully; there are people who act wrongfully in other agencies and in other organizations, even in our military agencies. For example, when we talk about the excesses which took place in Lebanon before the Israeli raid, was that the result of an office director there? Not at all. That was the result of the military, of our security agencies. I mean that mistakes occurred. I do not deny this. However, what has been said about their excesses, everything that has been said, I mean the fighting men, whether the fighting men in the media, the fighting men in security or the military fighting men, when these fighting men left Beirut, when they left it, all that was in their possession was a shoulder bag no bigger than 40 cubic centimeters. Therefore, let us be fair, these fighting men did not plunder Lebanon, and on top of that there were fighting men or personnel in the revolution who left Beirut and left behind them the furniture in their homes which they had bought with their own effort and had not stolen or plundered. In general, I said previously that there is no revolution that does not have negative features, but if the negative features of the revolution had been greater than its positive ones it would not have managed to live and persevere for 21 years. It is sufficient that a basic concern is preoccupying the Israeli regime these days, which is the military escalation the occupied territories are witnessing. That is Perez' main concern these days.

## Interference in the Lebanese's Own Affairs

AL-TADAMUN: On the subject, you referred to excesses which occurred in Lebanon and what has been said about them.

Abu 'Ammar (interrupting): Some of them are true. Excesses occurred which we do not deny. However, there have also been exaggerations in depicting them.

AL-TADAMUN: It has been said that the excesses of some fighting men or some security personnel are petty in the face of the more serious, greater excess, which is represented, in some people's view, by your interference, as Palestinian leaders, in purely private Lebanese affairs, in the sense that you have inserted yourself as a number in the Lebanese equation. It has been said that Abu 'Ammar wanted to have a say in who would be prime minister in Lebanon and who would be president.

Abu 'Ammar: I challenge any party who makes this claim to prove his statement and I will give a specific example here in the actual situation of Ilyas Sarkis' election as president in 1976. Everyone knows that I could have prevented the election of Ilyas Sarkis as president. I differed with my friend, whom we consider the martyr of the Palestinian people, the late Kamal Jumblatt, over my non-intervention in these elections. He was very upset because we did not intervene to prevent the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies at the session where Ilyas Sarkis was elected, but I refused and told him that this was not our business and we would not intervene. This sort of charge against us, that of intervening, is a real injustice. Making us responsible for this sort of excess which did not happen is a real injustice. I make the challenge that there was no Lebanese prime minister whom we ourselves imposed on the Lebanese forces or the Lebanese people. Give me the name of one prime minister to whom this sort of talk could apply.

AL-TADAMUN: It has been said that you intervened on the side of one Lebanese group against another, even within the National Movement itself, for instance intervening on Kamal Jumblatt's behalf against the Syrian Nationalists or your attempt to divide the ranks of the Syrian Nationalists themselves by siding with one wing against another.

Abu 'Ammar: No, no, that is not true. Let me submit the question to the Syrian Nationalists themselves. Who was in favor of the Syrian Nationalists' taking their place within the Lebanese National Movement? It is unjust that we should be accused of committing aggression against the Syrian Nationalists or trying to split their ranks. Indeed, we were friends with them before we came to Lebanon. The relationship between us and the leadership of the Syrian National Party began when we were in Amman, and we did our duty when we helped the Syrian Nationalists join in the membership of the Lebanese National Movement's political bureau. As to our being part of the Lebanese equation, that is something that happened not of our will, but rather against it. There are Lebanese parties which harbored ill will toward us and decided that they wanted to liquidate us. This scheme started to be carried out after the assassination of the three leaders Abu Yusuf al-Najjar, Kamal Adwan and Kamal Wasir, siege followed siege, and I told all the parties, "Brothers, do not ruin the country." Pierre al-Jumayyil at his gathering.

kept making statements like "If the Palestinians persevered in Jordan for a period of 22 months, we will get rid of them here in 11 days." We must not forget that there is a permanent American-Israeli scheme, which Arab regimes claiming to be progressive support, to strike at the Palestinian revolution. Therefore, when aggression was committed against us by a Lebanese party, other Lebanese parties stood alongside us, I mean the nationalist party, stood up in defense of us, stood up to protect us, and we had to stand alongside those who stood with us. We are the ones who trained the AMAL movement's personnel. We were the first to supply it with arms. Indeed, I am the one who gave it the name AMAL, because Imam Musa al-Sadr stood with us and against the people brandishing weapons against us. Therefore, it was normal that we should form alliance with the people who stood with us; when the scales of the balance turned in the National Movement's favor and ours along with it, Kissinger came and reached agreement with the Syrian regime to strike us and strike the National Movement in a way that would bring the situation back to the way it was, indeed make the separatist party's position the dominant one. What makes one laugh and cry regarding the matter is that when the Syrian entry into Lebanon occurred by agreement of the Arab league, that happened under the slogan of protecting the Palestinian resistance and preserving the unity of Lebanon, land and people. Can't I ask today: where is the protection of the Palestinian resistance? Where is the unity of Lebanon, land and people?

#### The Relations and Dispute with the Syrian Regime

AL-TADAMUN: There are people who mull over the current dispute between you and the Syrian president, Hafiz al-Asad, and conclude that the dispute seems to resemble a long-standing one, and is not the offspurring of the circumstances of the siege of Beirut and its aftermath. Is there any truth to this conclusion?

Abu 'Ammar: Of course. The dispute is a long-standing one.

AL-TADAMUN: Since when?

Abu 'Ammar: Since Hafiz al-Asad, who was minister of defense, intervened and prevented Syrian troops from going into Jordan, then took power and put Dr Nur-al-Din al-Atasi and Salah Jadid in prison because they had sent Syrian forces to our rescue in Jordan.

AL-TADAMUN: You mean in the events of September 1970.

Abu 'Ammar: Yes. The fact is that the dispute with him even predates the September events. I might remind anyone who has forgotten that when he was defense minister al-Asad issued an order consisting of 21 points, all of which restricted our movement in Syria, starting with the prohibition on ~~the entry of~~ by our personnel and fighting men into Golan and ending with the prohibition on our putting posters on the walls in the streets of Damascus. I might mention that I went to him in his office when he was defense minister and discussed the 21 points with him. I then went and met al-Atasi and Salah Jadid, who asked me to forget this matter, as if the points had not been issued. Therefore Hafiz al-Asad's hostile position toward the

Palestinian revolution and the FATAH movement in particular is an old one and predated his assumption of the presidency.

AL-TADAMUN: However, President Hafiz al-Asad's regime stood alongside you as a strategic ally before the invasion of Lebanon.

Abu 'Ammar: What happened to this alliance? Where was his position on applying it during the siege of Beirut? My strategic ally talked only once with me during the siege of Beirut, the day after the start of the invasion. Before the siege of Beirut I contacted him and he said, "Be brave, it is a simple matter." I answered him that we would be brave and would persevere, of course, and after that I did not even hear a word of greeting from him although I was the person in charge, according to the alliance, even of his forces which were present in Lebanon. All that we heard after that was the message he sent to the commander of the Syrian forces, Muhammad Halal, in which he said, "We are not fighting for 'Umar," meaning me, of course. What we learned about him after that is that he confiscated all the weapons and medical equipment Algeria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, East Germany, Yugoslavia and other countries sent us. That is the application of the alliance which took place. What alliance is this?

No One Welcomed Us

AL-TADAMUN: There are people who ascribe the position the Syrian regime took toward you to another reason, which is that you in FATAH supported the Moslem Brothers' movement at the peak of the confrontation between it and President Hafiz al-Asad's regime and that the support included the provision of weapons and the training of personnel.

Abu 'Ammar (interrupting): I make the challenge that there is one single item of proof against us in this regard. It is true that the charge has been made, and Syrian intelligence did happen to arrest some of our personnel and make an investigation into them regarding this matter, but absolutely nothing has been proved. If anything against us had been proved in this regard, the Syrian regime would have pulverized us.

AL-TADAMUN: To talk about the departure from Beirut after the siege: didn't you play a part in deepening the feelings of alienation between yourselves and the Syrian regime, in the sense that even within FATAH itself there are people who say that in spite of everything the natural course after Beirut ought to have been Damascus, not Athens?

Abu 'Ammar: This slander must be exposed. The Arab citizen must know that in the last days before the departure from Beirut, no one gave a welcome by receiving us as a command.

AL-TADAMUN: Not even Damascus?

Abu 'Ammar: Damascus was the first to refuse to receive us, and I will relate the story and what exactly happened with us here. We found no one who would receive us as a command. Syria just agreed to receive the leadership of the al-Sa'iqah organization, and even that agreement was made after



intervention by Philip Habib, and no one else. In the face of this situation, while I was looking for an Arab capital that would agree that we could go there as a command, and did not find any, the joint command of the Palestinian revolution took a decision that the entire command should leave in a single ship for Greece -- the whole Palestinian command, Dr George Habash, Nayif Hawatimah, me, Ahmad Jabril, Samir Ghawshah and Dr As'ad from the Arab Front. I had a discussion with the Greeks to send us a ship on this basis. I contacted my friend Papandreou and asked him for this ship, and there I was surprised by rapid contacts with all these leaders, one after the other. I mean Syria contacted them all and invited them to come to Damascus and did not contact me. When the withdrawal started, I was surprised to see them going there. Let the Arab world know that when I went to Greece I did so because I was in possession of no invitation from any Arab country to go there. I just received a Tunisian invitation. This is a Tunisian position I praise. When I reached Greece, let the generations know this statement, and if there is anyone who sent me an invitation as I was preparing to leave after the siege, let him be so kind as to state it. I did not represent myself in the siege of Beirut. Rather, I, and all the fighting men with me, we represented the chivalry of our Arab nation and its ability to face the challenge. However, no one invited this nation's knights to leave Beirut for his capital. Therefore, I did not go to Greece for tourist activity or out of obstinacy and insistence on not going to Damascus; rather, I did so because no one would receive me at that moment.

AL-TADAMUN: One has a mind to ask you why you did not go to Damascus, even without an invitation.

Abu 'Ammar: Some of my brothers in the central committee proposed that and said in essence "Let us go to Syria, brother Abu 'Ammar, even without an invitation and face the regime there with a fait accompli." My answer was that we could not do so without a prior agreement with the Syrian leaders, because we could not enter Damascus after the 88 days of siege of Beirut; there would be a sort of neglect in our reception or dealings with us, in a manner which would make us seem defeated and broken. Therefore there was an insistence on my part to go to Greece so that I would find an Arab country that would receive me. When I received the generous Tunisian invitation I answered it immediately. This is exactly what happened. Let any Palestinian or Lebanese commander who lived through these circumstances with me be so kind as to confront me with a different statement. Yes, this is what came from my strategic ally, which did not contact me during the 88 days of Israeli siege. Not once did it get in touch to ask about the situation. Nonetheless, my brother commanders put pressure on me and asked me to send it an official letter during the siege. I said, "As you ask" and wrote the letter.

AL-TADAMUN: A letter with regard to what?

Abu 'Ammar: With regard to the situation we were facing and our needs in the form of supplies, fuel and medical goods. The Popular Front took that letter, Ahmad Jabril took it and the al-Sa'iqah representative took it on grounds that I might not send it. They all sent it for their part and I sent it for my part. We received no reply and my strategic ally was not so kind as to ask a single question about the situation, or even to return the



greeting. Would I be expecting it to meet me in Damascus? In general, this talk reopens wounds. Let us move over to another point.

Al-Sadat and I

AL-TADAMUN: All right, let us change the subject to another point, related to the Camp David agreement and al-Sadat's trip to Jerusalem. On this subject, there are people who criticize you for your failure to withdraw from the chamber where al-Sadat gave his speech in which he declared that he would go to Jerusalem for the sake of peace and an end to war, or at least that your withdrawing from the chamber the moment al-Sadat declared what he did would have appeared to the Arabs and the world as an important stand.

Abu 'Ammar: If the whole Arab world did not stop al-Sadat from continuing with his scheme, would my withdrawal from this session have done so? I do not believe so. Then I have kept pointing out how all of us, all those who heard him stating what he said in this speech, thought that he was going to excess in portraying the situation, exaggerating in how he declared his desire for peace, and that he did not mean actually going to Jerusalem. After he had finished the speech I might point out that I stood with Messrs Mahmud [sic] Riyad and Isma'il Fahmi and we exchanged views over what we had heard. Fahmi recommended that the paragraph be removed from the speech when it was published or rebroadcast, so that no one would notice and the whole thing would seem like a slip of the tongue. I met with him directly after that and told him that what had appeared in his speech should be taken seriously. He answered me by saying "You are afraid of the press, isn't it? Don't be afraid of the press of Lebanon." I went on to answer him that it was not a matter of fear of any press or anything else so much as the seriousness of the situation itself. He did not answer. Meanwhile President Mubarak observed the anxiety which had engulfed me -- at that time he was vice president -- and took me with him by car. He told me, as we were in the car, that President al-Sadat was bold. I kept saying that this boldness would split the Arab world. That is what actually happened and we are still suffering from the results of it.

AL-TADAMUN: At that time the Geneva conference was on the verge of being held and all parties, including the organization, were going to take part in it.

Abu 'Ammar: Yes, that is true. Even the level of representation had been agreed upon. Suddenly al-Sadat turned the tables on everyone.

AL-TADAMUN: Why is the organization anxious to take part in the settlement and not let Jordan regain the West Bank the way it considers appropriate and let Egypt regain Gaza as it wishes, while the organization does not impose itself on the peace and the settlement? Some people consider that this proposal will entail rescuing the organization from the vortex of the settlement and its complex conditions.

Abu 'Ammar: That is a strange proposal, and it seems that the people who advocate it forget what happened in 1947. Moreover, this proposal is what Israel wants. The Zionist organization does not want to see a Palestinian

state or have a Palestinian leader. They rejected al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni, they rejected Ahmad al-Shuqayri and Yasir 'Arafat, and even the Village League is to be rejected if it is to lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state.

AL-TADAMUN: In the atmosphere of the Arab region, there is talk about axes that have started to be formed. The organization seems to be a party to the range of Egyptian-Jordanian-Iraqi coordination which some people call an axis.

Abu 'Ammar: All right, and Yemen, and Algeria; haven't they yet become part of what is being said about axes? In general, my answer is that we are not a party to any axis and there is no axis, but it is also true that a new political map is being drawn for the Arab region. There is a factional monster encroaching and lurking over the region and others have the right to stand up to it.

AL-TADAMUN: Doesn't the climate of Jordanian-Syrian reconciliation cause you some sort of anxiety? Isn't the Palestinian leadership beset by a kind of fear that Jordanian-Syrian reconciliation will be at the organization's expense?

Abu 'Ammar: First of all, a command which is beset by this sort of anxiety and fear because the disposition of its people's cause will take place behind its back does not deserve to be a command and must not be the object of its people's trust. In any event, we have no anxiety that the Jordanian-Syrian reconciliation will be at our expense, or I personally do not believe that that will happen.

AL-TADAMUN: That means that you are confident that King Husayn's position regarding your adherence to the organization's role in the peace process is a strategic one?

Abu 'Ammar (after a short period of silence): I am confident of a basic thing, which is the correctness and soundness of my position. I am also confident that I (smiling) am confident of a step which he is taking as a landowner.

AL-TADAMUN: A king or a landowner?

Abu 'Ammar (with a broad smile): No, no, as a landowner.

AL-TADAMUN: Speaking of Jordan, there are people who find that the organization's step of boycotting the Arab summit held in Amman in 1980 is wrong and consider that this boycott was in harmony with the Syrian position.

Abu 'Ammar: Yes, we were wrong that day in boycotting the Amman summit, and our decision in this regard was not correct. However, it is a blunder which was committed under Syrian threat. At that time Hafiz al-Asad said in these words, "Either I mobilize forces against Jordan or mobilize them against you!"

AL-TADAMUN: Why wasn't a Syrian-Palestinian reconciliation committee formed at the latest summit conference like the other intra-Arab reconciliation committees?

Abu 'Ammar: Ask the Arabs, don't ask me!

AL-TADAMUN: Which Arabs? Governments or masses?

Abu 'Ammar: The masses were not at the summit conference and were not the ones who formulated its resolutions!

AL-TADAMUN: You are confident that the Jordanian-Syrian reconciliation will not be at the expense of the organization, but there are political analysts who insist that you personally are the scapegoat of this reconciliation.

Abu 'Ammar: Yasir 'Arafat is not a number that can be cancelled out easily. I am the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the general commander of the forces of the Palestinian revolution. Some days ago, while we were in Baghdad, President Saddam Husayn expressed this issue clearly when he said, in brief, "If some people believe that the organization or the Palestinian revolution is just a number they are wrong. It is the cause of the whole Arab nation." Then I repeat what I previously said, to the effect that I do not believe that the Syrian-Jordanian meeting will at all be at the expense of the organization.

Why the Dialogue with America?

AL-TADAMUN: If you are not anxious about the Syrian-Jordanian meeting, in the light of your continuous assertion that the revolution is able to struggle with Israel on the occupied territories, on grounds that the upheavals have been going on without letup for a few weeks, do you have to carry out a dialogue with the United States?

Abu 'Ammar: Are we fighting just for the sake of fighting, out of the love of war and death? No, I am not a mercenary, I am not a professional in war, I am fighting for the sake of my people's cause, for the sake of their right to a free dignified life within a free independent country, I repeat, independent. Therefore in 1974 I went to the United Nations and told the world "Do not make the olive branch fall from my hand." At that time many people attacked me, although I talked about the olive branch and the rifle. I have not changed my position. We are people seeking a just peace. It is the Americans who have changed their position. They talked with me in Beirut during the siege, Philip Habib talked with me and not with a ghost, they are the ones who broke their agreements. Moreover let us not forget that America is a great power, and I am seeking for it to recognize me.

AL-TADAMUN: However, you appear to be running after American recognition of the organization in spite of your continuous assertion that no one can deal with the cause in the absence of the organization and that there is no peace without the organization. Why don't you let them run to you?

Abu 'Ammar: I did not ask for a meeting between a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and America. Let this be known. My strength is that I am not

the party which asked for the meeting. It is America that asked for the meeting, especially after Richard Murphy's attempt to find a Palestinian to talk to within the occupied territories who was not connected to the Liberation Organization. The result was that he met with figures on the bank and the strip and heard a single statement from them, whose substance was that they spoke only for the organization and did not act without permission from it; this is where the notion of the meeting arose. However, none of this means that we for our part must not try to have the meeting take place. Murphy failed to go over the organization in the Palestinian and Arab context and he admitted that. Why shouldn't we ourselves exploit this failure in our interests? What harm is there in that? The Vietnamese revolution fought the Americans and at the same time there was a special operations room observing trends in American public opinion, in particular their congressmen and senators, with the goal of learning how to influence them on behalf of the revolution. We also are not fighting Israel only, we are fighting the American administration and we must record positive points in this war. Moreover, I am not one of those who write poetry about revolution and the revolutionary spirit; I engage in revolutionary action in its military and political areas. There is no revolution without a political objective. Rifles alone, without a political objective, become banditry. Therefore, I must strive by all military, political, diplomatic and media means to have the revolution achieve its political objective. Attaining American recognition of the organization means that we will have covered half the road, because there are 137 countries which recognize us, including a great power, the Soviet Union, while the other great power is hostile to us and refuses to recognize us and our rights. Therefore, the attainment of this recognition is a political necessity for our people's struggle, without however occurring at the expense of our people or our rights. Therefore I rejected all preconditions for the holding of this discussion and told our brothers in Jordan, "I did not ask for this discussion in order to be subject to American conditions. They are the ones who asked for the discussion and it is strange that they should impose conditions."

AL-TADAMUN: What would happen if you declared now that in the face of American blustering you did not want this dialogue with America?

Abu 'Ammar: I am not running after a dialogue with America, record this statement in my own words. Therefore I will not accept any preconditions for the holding of a dialogue with America or with anyone else.

Egypt and the Camp

AL-TADAMUN: There are people who rebuke you for being anxious that Egypt return to the Arab League, even before the abrogation of the Camp David agreements. This anxiousness causes you problems even inside FATAH.

Abu 'Ammar: I am committed to clear resolutions in this regard which have been issued by the Palestine National Council, stating that it is necessary to get close to Egypt to the same degree that it distances itself from the Camp David policy. I do not imagine that there is anyone who would deny that President Husni Mubarak's orientations are distancing Egypt from the Camp David policy. Then Egypt the people and the masses are in constant

resistance to the peace with Israel. Everyone there is resisting these agreements and rejecting what has resulted from them. The Egyptian peasant, religious figure, student, worker, government employee and soldier have resisted them and rejected them. The Egyptian people are a genuine people and my confidence in this people is unlimited.

AL-TADAMUN: But official Egypt is still treating the Camp David agreements as an actual fact.

Abu 'Ammar: Of course, and in order to be done with the Camp David vortex and to rid Egypt of it, there must be an Egyptian decision and an Arab decision that we should consider Camp David an Arab problem, not just an Egyptian problem, and deal with it on this basis, if we as Arabs want Egypt to return. If some people do not want this, and even put every obstacle in the way of ridding Egypt of Camp David, that is one of our Arab tragedies. Moreover, if it had not been for Egypt's alienation and Iraq's preoccupation with the war with Iran, the isolation of the Palestinian revolution would not have come about. The isolation of the Palestinian revolution has come about, and the Syrian regime would not have acted on grounds that it was the master with a free hand in the region.

#### Iraq and Iran

AL-ADAMUN: Since you mentioned the Iraqi-Iranian war, do you consider that there will be an end to it soon?

Abu 'Ammar: It is at its end, with the strike on Kharg Island. In the light of Iraq's stability and perseverance, I can say that the war is at its end.

AL-TADAMUN: Did you and the Iranian revolution clash over any of its orientations while you in FATAH were helping to bring down the Shah?

Abu 'Ammar: I clashed with this orientation of hostility to Arabhood; it created an unjustified contradiction with the Arabs and Iran's neighbors. I also clashed with the Iranian revolution's assumption of the position of an observer on the war of the camps and the attempt at liquidation I was exposed to during the siege of Tripoli and before all that what I clashed with in the Iranian revolution was its leaders' insistence on continuing the struggle against Iraq. I remember how joy gladdened my spirit, and I saw Jerusalem with my own eyes, the day Iraq declared the cease fire at the start of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and Khamene'i, the president of Iran, responded and also declared the cease fire. However, 3 days later the Iranians changed their mind because the Syrian president had told Khomeyni telling him "The purpose in Israel's invasion of Lebanon was to implicate Syria in a war and embarrass you so that you would stop the war and Saddam Husayn would be saved!"

AL-TADAMUN: Did that really happen?

Abu 'Ammar: Yes, it happened, and because of it the Iranians retreated and started fighting again, and Iraq continued to be preoccupied. The plan to isolate us succeeded.



And, I think that's enough!

It was getting close to 0300 hours in the morning when Abu 'Ammar declared "That's enough." Traces of exhaustion had started to become apparent. When I asked him if we could continue the following day, because there were many questions and a number of answers which we aspired to have explained and discussed, Abu 'Ammar did not refuse, but the next day he flew on the flying carpet which does not stop moving -- and how can it stop, if Abu 'Ammar is leading the "revolution of the flying carpet?" However, an opportunity might be afforded to continue this discussion which Abu 'Ammar's generosity allowed to be held.

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# OFFICIALS DISCUSS LONDON MEETING

AL-TADAMUN

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 26 Oct 85 / 10

[Interview with Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) in Amman, Jordan, by AL-TADAMUN; in London, date not specified]

[Text] In order to discover the Palestinian leadership's reaction to the setback suffered by the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to London, and the failure of British Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe to meet with the Palestinian side of the delegation, AL-TADAMUN was anxious to talk to one of the high ranking leaders in the Palestinian leadership. It happened that Mr Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), deputy commander in chief of the forces of the Palestinian revolution, was in the Jordanian capital as the events leading to the meeting's failure were developing. His presence there during the crisis means that he was close to Jordanian decision-making circles, and thus he was able to have insight into the Jordanian view of what happened. Herein follows the text of the interview that AL-TADAMUN conducted by telephone with Abu Jihad in Amman.

[Question] Was there prior agreement, before Mr Yassir Arafat and Mr Ilyas al-Khuri arrived as part of the joint delegation to London, that a statement would be signed that included an unconditional renunciation of Israel and what are called the borders that were in existence in 1967?

[Answer] No, there was no such agreement. As we mentioned in a statement issued by the PLO's Executive Committee, what the British prime minister stated in a press conference that she held in al-'Aqabah contained two points: the first relating to a statement on continuing to move towards a just political peace settlement based on all the United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian question, and the second relating to the Palestinian delegation stating a position renouncing violence and terror, and concerning these two points, everybody says that Britain did not necessarily impose them as preconditions. We continually state that we are against acts of international terror that offend civilization, but we hold fast to our firm and everlasting right, which is sanctioned by the laws of international law, and that is our right to fight for our freedom. We do not consider that to be terror like the terror against peace-loving peoples practiced in

...the Israeli authorities... that the Israeli authorities... occupied territory.

...the delegation... and how did the

When the PLO representatives in the delegation saw that there was no room for the statement that stipulated an unequivocal recognition of Israel and its secure borders, they refused to sign. It was not their place to do so on their part, because they cannot set out to do such a thing without consulting the leadership. Then, too, a statement coming out of a meeting by a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation with a British representative to the peace conference.

...the delegation... to sign some after

...the leadership, and the

...the situation, we will ask what... position, in addition to America's escalation of its hostility towards the PLO, have had on the Palestinian leadership's continuation of peace efforts. Is there the possibility of despair and a return to arms only?

First of all, the Palestinian leadership's approval of peace efforts does not mean an end to our armed struggle. In fact, we consider our political struggle to be complementary to our armed struggle. When we agreed to peace efforts, we proceeded on the basis that the fighter must try all efforts to reach the goal. Foremost of our goals now is to regain the land that was ours in 1947 and set up an independent Palestinian state. The agreement between us and the Jordanians was made on this basis, by virtue of the agreement between the two peoples. Secondly, no political quiet must be made alone, which is that the 11 February agreement and all political activity is based on inalterable issues that were agreed upon in the 1947 National Covenant, and the leadership does not have the authority to deviate from them, nor can it. These unalterable issues pertain to our right to our land and our nation, and we cannot renounce or surrender them. Our political activity has not come out of a vacuum, for indeed there were our people's sacrifices throughout all these years, and they were that conveyed their voice to the world and made them one of the parties working to end war in the region.

As for the British and American position, it will have no effect if the intention was to drive us to despair. For the revolutionary fighter does not know despair. But (and, or rather we as a leadership say, to the whole world, that we are not with despair and that our acceptance of a peace conference is not accepted, that will not drive us to reconsider our position and to accept the rejection of the PLO.

[Question] An escalation of violence in the Middle East.

[Answer] That is one of the main reasons for the meeting.

[Question] Because of that, it has been said here in London that the British will send more embassies in the Middle East and that is a precautionary measure as a precaution against acts of revenge on your part?

[Answer] On our part? No. . . let the British rest assured that we will not engage in terror, and we will not engage in acts of revenge against their embassies. We have one fundamental enemy, which is Israel.

[Question] Will the meeting be held in London or in some other place? Will it view the situation as a meeting in place of the one that was held in London?

[Answer] The question is not one of bad conditions or bad conditions. We are surprised that there should be conditions for meeting with a delegation in the first place. France, for example, did not impose any conditions. Also, Britain bears a historical and moral responsibility for the tragedy and sufferings of our people. Britain was the one who established Israel at the expense of our people. We will show the government of Mrs Margaret Thatcher to the documents of the British Office during the period of the Mandate; perhaps it might find that we would prove our legitimate right to our country. Even the British government itself did not say that a Jewish state should be set up at the expense of the Palestinians, but that does not mean that I accede to that. Also, Britain and Thatcher's government itself did not impose any conditions on Robert Mugabe when it negotiated with him while he was fighting in Zimbabwe. Nor did it arrest him when he arrived in London, though he was and still is a wanted man. It is not possible for the act of terror that was committed by the British officers and soldiers in the Middle East to be forgotten before the end of the century.

#### The Palestinian Representative

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 26 Oct 85 pp 16-17

[Interview with Faysal 'Uwaydah, PLO representative in London, al-Miqdadi; London, date not specified]

[Text] The Palestinian representative in London, Faysal 'Uwaydah, spent three nights in London, in the decisive nights that were marked by the events of the 1985 and the anticipation experienced by the Palestinian people. He considered this meeting to be a step towards the future of the Palestinian people.

AL-TADAMUN went to the PLO office in London to interview Faysal 'Uwaydah about the events that led to the meeting and the meeting itself. The interview was as follows:

[Question] The meeting had been scheduled for Monday morning on 14 October. It was a meeting of the delegation represented by Mr Muhammad Milhim and Bishop Iliya al-Khuri. The British government shocked those who had built their hopes on the expected meeting. What prompted this sudden cancellation, and what was the point of contention?

[Answer] The basic point of contention in the matter was that one of the members of the delegation, Muhammad Milhim, had no knowledge whatsoever of what had happened. By that I mean the agreement that Jordan and Britain had signed in Amman and then brought to London to obtain the approval of the Palestinian members. Muhammad Milhim did not have the chance to look over the agreement until Saturday 12 October, and when he did look it over he saw that it suited neither him personally nor the PLO.

[Question] Does that mean that if Muhammad Milhim had looked over the statement, cancellation of the meeting might have been avoided?

[Answer] If Muhammad Milhim had seen the statement before coming to London, he would have asked for changes to be made, and these changes would have been accepted or rejected before he came to London.

[Question] So can we say that it is a question of poor organization, and if that is the case, who is responsible for that?

[Answer] Britain is responsible because it did not give the Palestinian side a copy of the statement. It happened that Brother Muhammad Milhim had been in New York, then he went to the UNESCO conference in Sofia, where he was told about the London meeting, on the basis that this meeting would take place on 14 October. Thus he came to London from Sofia, thinking that talks would be held to discuss the subject, after which a joint statement would be issued. But a joint statement was not issued because they had already prepared it, meaning the British Foreign Office and the Jordanian government, and Muhammad Milhim did not sign the statement because he knew nothing about it, and because he refused to be a "false witness."

[Question] But Bishop Iliya al-Khuri, for his part, had read the statement in Amman.

[Answer] It is not enough for the bishop alone to read the statement, because each of them was invited to the meeting in a personal capacity, so the bishop's point of view does not substitute for that of Milhim.

[Question] Was not the invitation extended to the two because they are members of the PLO's Executive Committee?

[Answer] No, it was not like that. The British government extended an invitation to two personalities from the PLO on the basis that each come in a personal capacity. The truth is that Muhammad Milhim rejected a personal capacity because he believes, rightly so, that the Executive Committee had decided that he should attend this meeting during the committee's meeting in Baghdad on the 22nd of last month. What happened is that the British first

insisted on a personal capacity for Muhammad Milhim, but he rejected it. Also, even in a personal capacity, he did not look over the statement until the night before the meeting, Sunday evening in other words. Perhaps what happened was poor organization, or perhaps the English imagined that Milhim would sign anything. Personally, I do not perceive the matter as one of good intentions, because it is unreasonable to invite someone to a meeting without informing him of what is to go on in it. It was Britain that invited Muhammad Milhim personally, so it ought to have seen to it that he got the statement personally.

[Question] At the time was not contact made with Mr Yasir 'Arafat to find out what his opinion was and to get out of the impasse?

[Answer] Contact was made, and Yasir 'Arafat rejected the text of the statement, and he asked that changes be made, which Muhammad Milhim conveyed to the British side. But the British Foreign Office rejected the changes, and it also refused to extend the talks. Mr Egerton, the British deputy foreign minister, who had met with Muhammad Milhim just before the meeting, set an appointment for us for 9 o'clock the next morning, and he asked us to tell him at that time whether or not we agreed to the addition of the phrase "recognition of secure borders for Israel." Even though the Palestinian delegation stuck to its position the next day, it asked for a meeting with Geoffrey Howe for the purpose of reaching an understanding. The time of the meeting was set for 11 o'clock that same morning, but at 10 o'clock a statement was issued cancelling the appointment, and thus Britain destroyed any chance for an understanding.

[Question] Had Mrs Margaret Thatcher alluded to the contents of this statement during her latest visit to Jordan?

[Answer] While Mrs Thatcher was in Jordan, and during the press conference which she held in 'Amman, she did not talk about this statement at all. Also, her letter to the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to visit London never mentioned "secure and recognized borders for Israel," rather it centered on the search for frameworks for peace based on the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, recognition of the United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian question, as well as the condemnation of terrorism by all parties. That is all that was in Thatcher's letter. Moreover, Milhim had acknowledged the invitation as Mrs Thatcher had extended it, and the addition that had been inserted into the statement was the phrase "recognition of Israel's 1967 borders," whereas the United Nations itself does not recognize the 1967 borders, and even Israel does not recognize them either, so how can the Palestinian side be asked to recognize these borders?

He is silent for a while., then he continues: The meeting fell through from the very beginning, and I believe that everyone, by which I mean the Jordanian government, Muhammad Milhim and Iliya Khuri, all were ignorant of what was going on in the British mind and what Britain wanted out of that visit. Britain had invited Milhim and Iliya Khuri on the basis of each coming in a personal capacity, and when they refused to sign the statement, it said that they represented the PLO, and so the campaign came to be directed against the

Q. Britain did not invite the PLO to that meeting, and when I personally asked to be included in the delegation, they told me that it was a private delegation.

[Question] And what was Muhammad Milhim's response to the British side?

[Answer] Milhim did not shut the doors; he tried his best to make adjustments, reach an understanding, and to extend the meeting. He tried his best to persuade the English to discuss a true solution, but the English refused and insisted on the recognition of the 1967 borders adjusted in the interest of Israel's security. Even if we had agreed to that point, they would have asked for more, because in the upcoming phase they will ask us which area of the West Bank we would give up for Israel's benefit. I believe everyone was unaware of what was going on in Britain's mind.

[Question] Do you believe that the Zionist lobby in Britain had a role in changing the British government's position?

[Answer] It was not the role of the Zionist lobby as much as it was what the West wants from us. There had been severe American pressure on Mrs Thatcher, and the American position was that either we come and recognize Israel, or we do not come at all. Of course Britain denied that there had been American pressure, but the American press confirmed that Reagan, up until the last moment, had been in contact with Mrs Thatcher. At the same time, one of the Israeli ministers had been in London until the day of the meeting, and we do not think that he came to give lectures to the Jewish community. The Jews had been in a race to cancel the meeting so that they could score a media victory and tell the world that the PLO did not want peace.

[Question] King Husayn, who had been spending his vacation in London, told British television that the British government had acted correctly and that it had not inserted any changes into the original statement that was issued in Amman.

[Answer] King Husayn spoke from a single statement, which was that the statement did in fact originate in Amman and that the Jordanian delegation and Bishop Iliya al-Khuri had approved it, but that Muhammad Milhim did not agree. But I had been hoping that King Husayn would also say that the English had agreed to extend the meeting by only 10 minutes, and that he would state they had insisted that we recognize Israel and we had refused, and that they would not agree to anything else. We had been hoping that King Husayn would say that. But for us to be accused by the British of wrecking the meeting, that is not true. The one who wrecked the meeting was the British government because it did not show any willingness to negotiate, and its behavior was tantamount to a threat, and we did not yield to that threat. What I am saying now was said by Dennis Healey, David Owen and the British Church. Even in the House of Lords there was doubt over what had happened and sharp debates on the British government's position.

[Question] Finally, do you believe that the British government's position at that meeting affected the PLO's confidence in the British role in the peace process?



[Answer] We never had confidence in the western position in general, but if the West wants to proceed and do something for a just peace in a conference that includes all concerned parties, we are ready.

#### West Bank, Gaza Personalities

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 26 Oct 85 pp 17-18

[Text] How did political luminaries in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip follow the three most obvious developments pertaining to the Palestinian question, by which we mean the falling through of the unexpected meeting between the British government and two of the members of the PLO's Executive Committee, and prior to that the hijacking of the Italian ship and the Israeli raid on Tunis?

In order to answer that question, and to find out the view of those political luminaries on the effects of those developments, AL-TADAMUN asked its correspondents in occupied Jerusalem to ask a number of Palestinian political personalities within [the occupied territories] about their views. They obtained these opinions:

Ilyas Furayj, mayor of Bethlehem:

"I hope that things will be coordinated between Jordan and our brothers in the PLO, and that the collapse of the meeting in London will not affect relations between the PLO and Jordan, and that work under the joint Jordanian-Palestinian agreement will continue."

Mustafa al-Natshah, acting mayor of Hebron:

"The latest events, from the British foreign ministers not meeting with the Palestinian delegation, to the events in Tunis and the hijacking of the Italian ship, must not shake the Palestinian position, especially with regard to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement. Our brethren in the PLO leadership must meet to evaluate the situation and to reach an understanding with our brothers in Jordan, so as to preserve the joint agreement and strengthen the course towards recovering the occupied land."

Attorney Zuhayr al-Rayyis (Gaza)

"The crisis that the PLO is facing today arises essentially, in my belief, from the biased position characterized by arrogance and conceit taken by the American administration headed by Ronald Reagan. The entire world condemned the vicious and treacherous Israeli raid on Tunis and on the PLO's headquarters there, and in spite of that Reagan and his deluded lackey Larry Speakes hastened to give their blessing to that aggressive terrorist act. Then came the events and developments of the Italian ship, whereupon the American administration did everything it could to capitalize on those events against the PLO, its leadership and its leader. It succeeded in that, for the present at least, in spite of the fact that world public opinion had condemned its piracy and reckless acts. Here I must praise the role played by Egypt, its

people, government, and president, for it condemned the American aggression strongly and clearly, and took a resolute and wise position towards it.

As for the matter of the cancellation of the meeting with the British foreign minister the paucity of information available to us on the subject prevents me from commenting on it, in view of the obvious contradictions between what all the parties are saying about an agreement or lack of an agreement on the wording of the statement that was to come out of the meeting."

Bassam al-Shak'ah, elected mayor of Nabulus:

"In my opinion, the weakness of the Palestinian policy is the result of divisions, and the result of policies of surrender. Dependence on the West, led by America, resulted in our not being respected by Britain, which, and because of Zionist and American pressure, rejects even the principle of dialogue with the Executive Committee and its members, even under the Amman agreement. What is strange, is that Muhammad Milhim himself had previously met with Mrs Thatcher, and she knows about Muhammad Milhim's commitment to the PLO and the Palestinian national policy. Also, Mr Hurd when he held the post of British minister of state in the previous Conservative government, met with me at a hotel in London while I was there receiving treatment, in the presence of Nabil al-Ramlawi, the former PLO representative in London. Also, the British ambassador in Beirut contacted the PLO officially to apologize for the improper course of action towards me in London which called for the continuation of my treatment there. This leads me to compare a united, fighting PLO following the national, fighting line against hostile plans and policies, to the current policy disabled by division and working within the frameworks of international imperialism. With this comparison, we realize how utterly shameful things are, and that necessitates a deep and radical review in order to return the national struggle and the Palestinian people to their true position confronting American and Zionist strategy."

Hanna Sanyura, editor-in-chief of AL-FAJR newspaper in occupied Jerusalem:

"The collapse of the meeting that had been scheduled between the British foreign minister, Geoffrey Howe, and the Palestinian side that had been a part of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation is considered a severe political setback for peace efforts in the region. If the matter is not remedied the consequences will be disastrous to the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement and to the political activity that resulted from that agreement. Also, the hijacking of the Italian ship put an end to world expressions of outrage that had arisen in the wake of the Israeli raid on the PLO headquarters in Tunis, and it led subsequently to a political setback that brought in its wake the withdrawal of a statement that had asked for Yasir 'Arafat to be invited to address the world from the floor of the United Nations. In the near future, the Palestinian leadership will meet in Baghdad in order to evaluate everything that has happened and its effect on the PLO's political activity. Here it will be necessary for the Palestinian leadership to give heed to the fact that the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement is still one of the essential pillars, and that it, the Palestinian leadership, should thwart the

plan of the Israeli government, which wants to put an end to this cooperation--this agreement--in order to weaken the political capacities of the PLO."

Attorney Fayiz Abu Rahmah:

"The general Arab and Palestinian position is in an extremely critical situation, and it will profoundly affect the future. We hope that we will get through this difficult stage with wisdom, patience and farsightedness, for in political matters there are usually many shocks, but the shocks do not destroy everything. Some must survive, and there is still some hope that many will return to their senses.

"The catastrophe of the Palestinian people is the responsibility of the entire world because it is responsible for what happened to them. The world must help them. The meeting between the Palestinian delegation and the British foreign minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was not a decisive point in solving the Palestinian question, and therefore the fact that it did not take place is not a disaster. What is required of our entire Arab nation is to do more to help the Palestinians, and it must unite and work hard and sincerely."

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AFGHANISTAN

FARAH PROVINCIAL COUNCIL CLAIMS NINE THOUSAND MEMBERSHIP

Kabul ANIS in Dari 23 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Text] The Farah National Fatherland Front Provincial Council has been able to attract 577 members through its untiring efforts since the Fifth Plenum eight months ago, which is 15 percent more than the projected plan.

The Farah NFF Provincial Council possesses 55 councils including city, district, subdistrict, village and housing councils. In these councils there are 2,000 private members and 7,000 collective members including the 577 members who enrolled during the current year in the aforementioned councils.

Two hundred persons were enrolled in 16 tribal councils and 16 peace councils. As a result of propaganda activities and individual meetings carried out by jirgah or council propaganda employees, 15 literacy courses, 10 mobilization propaganda groups, nine stationary propaganda groups and five commissions for regulating the clergy's activities have been created throughout the province. Furthermore, through propaganda, contact and visits of tribal and peace council members with the people, 300 deluded individuals who were part of the counter-revolution have joined their revolutionary government and took up arms defending it during the current year after comprehending the righteousness of the revolution and the order for amnesty by the DRA Revolutionary Council. They took an oath to courageously defend the glorious Sawr revolution and its achievements until their last breath.

After making the above statements, Gholam Heydar Yusefi, chief of the Farah NFF Provincial Council, spoke about the social services rendered by this council to local citizens in this way: Throughout the Farah NFF Provincial Council, 11 student-parent councils were created, 12 commissions to resolve family disputes were formed, 20 dossiers on prisoners were completed and forwarded to the NFF Central Council, and 12 volunteer and collective work groups were organized in which more than 13,000 persons participated from 0800 to 1200 hours. As a result of these volunteer and collective work groups some roads, bridges, schools and mosques were repaired, water channels were dug, irrigation ditches were cleaned, and farmers' harvests were gathered. In this way more than 300,000 afghani income was realized.

He added: One representative from the NFF Provincial Council has been introduced on a permanent basis to the land and water reform commissions, and during the current year about 700 land deeds were distributed to farmers around Farah city.

During the same period 263 persons from Qal'ah Kah district, 50 persons from Javin district, 64 persons from Anar district and 35 persons from the Khak-e Sefid district joined the NFF's ranks.

In this manner, 80 persons joined the Revolution Defenders Group, 124 persons joined the armed forces, and 200 persons joined instructional and charitable institutions or brought to public health facilities for treatment.

The speaker added: From the budget of the NFF Provincial Council of Farah, in direct cooperation with other related social organizations, 100,000 afghanis have been given as assistance to the poor and sick and families of the martyrs of the revolution.

In conclusion, he added: In order to implement the Local Organ State Power and Administration Law and the useful decisions of the historic Grand Assembly, several special meetings have been held and actions have been taken to inform the public to the greatest degree possible through the Farah NFF Provincial Council.

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AFGHANISTAN

EFFORTS UNDERWAY TO BETTER REGULATE BANKING SYSTEM

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 26 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] The 20 December 1984 session of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee adopted guidelines and specific policies relating to the transformation of the banking system in the country, and placed the major responsibility in this area on the shoulders of the Central Bank of Afghanistan. In order to gain some information and better familiarity about the practical implementation in the area of banking, HEYWAD's correspondent spoke with an official at the Central Bank, the results of which appear below. At the beginning of the talk, the official said:

Following the historic resolution of 20 December 1984 of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee and the valuable guidance of Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council, aimed at development and improvement of the banking and financial system in the country, the Central Bank approved and implemented the aforementioned plan which was put forward by the DRA Council of Ministers.

Within a short period the Central Bank of Afghanistan has succeeded in implementing the aforementioned policies and in taking definite steps to make fundamental transformations to improve the country's banking system. For example, in order to harmonize and evolve banking in the country and enhance its role in an ever greater and more effective participation in the social and economic growth and development in light of the lofty goals of the party and revolutionary government, a new DRA money and banking law was prepared as a first step which makes use of the scientific and practical experiences of friendly countries, and as part of the legal process and for its verification it was submitted to the Institute for Legislation and Scientific and Legal Research of the Ministry of Justice in the spring of 1985, where it is now under study. The new money and banking law, which has been formulated in a completely progressive and scientific fashion, will certainly eliminate the gaps and insufficiencies in the existing law, which does not meet the interest of the masses.

Through its execution a sound and positive transformation will be made in the country's banking system.

Concerning actions by the Central Bank for strengthening financial discipline and making more purposeful use of credits, the source explained: In order to



strengthen the financial discipline and control of the Central Bank over the purposeful and economic use of credit and bank loans and ultimately the fruitful and desirable participation of the said bank in capital funding and strengthening of plants, institutions and state companies--mixed and cooperative--in accordance with the PDPA plan of action and the decisions of the party and government, a bill of "procedure" for granting loans by the Central Bank of Afghanistan to the plants and institutions mentioned has been prepared. After passing through legal stages, in the near future it will be implemented. As part of the transformations, the credit plan of the banking system of 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] has also been completely reviewed, and from the standpoint of form and content it exceeds the plans of the previous years. By creating coordination and harmony between the credit and foreign currency plans of the Central Bank, better arrangements have been reached.

Furthermore, for that group of customers and borrowers of banks whose repayment period of their loans is falling due, the opening of separate accounts has been planned. In order to achieve this, new savings pass books have been planned, and through the specific guidance in this area from the Central Bank, they have been issued to all the DRA's banks and have been accordingly implemented.

Concerning the changing of loan and trust accounts of institutions and plants to current accounts, the source explained: A number of social organizations and government plants put a portion of their budgeted allocation in banks as trust deposits instead of putting them to constructive use for the institution. In order to prevent this, the loan and trust accounts of all state plants and social institutions, after the expiration of their term, will be stopped and changed to current accounts. In the future no trust deposit accounts will be opened for such institutions.

9597/12859  
CSO: 4665/11

AFGHANISTAN

HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM, ENROLLMENT EXPANDED

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in Dari 25 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] The Soltan Reziyah High School was among the country's educational institutions praised by the Kabul City Party Committee for fruitful work in the ideological education field and providing an instructional system for their schools.

This high school's collective, through its understanding of its social and educational responsibilities, has taken an active part in educating its students and implementing the school's guardianship program.

Relying on this principle and the development of the school guardianship process, the high school's administration has prepared and implemented specific plans and joint policies to expand political and educational work among the students. Furthermore, it has made extensive efforts in the area of holding meetings, dispatching propaganda groups, creating friendship and traffic orientation rooms and initiating volunteer work aimed at clean-up and planting of trees and greenery at the high school.

Maki 'Aref, chief of the high school administration said: Since the start and victory of the triumphant Sawr revolution, the DRA government, based on its educational policy to expand education in the country, has always striven to raise the level of the country's schools and educational institutions and to make it possible for the majority of the country's youth to benefit from knowledge and education. In this regard, the Soltan Reziyah Intermediate School was recently elevated to high school level and now has 2,100 students who are taught in 56 sections in two shifts. These students are instructed by 102 teachers. The school, which was recently elevated to high school status due to the pressing need felt by the local citizens, is now under the care and patronage of the Gozargah Textile Plant.

The high school's instructional employees have had a significant role in literacy courses, and the teachers at the school, understanding their patriotic duty, are sharing actively in the advance of this vital project.

In addition to doing their daily school work, students also have enrolled 410 illiterate persons in literacy courses in their neighborhood, and this process is still continuing.

Concerning the elevation of the intermediate school to the high school level, the directress of the Soltan Reziyah High School said: Elevating the intermediate school to a high school was one of the pressing needs of the local citizens, because the girls high schools in Kabul are very far from the Aqa 'Ali Shams district, and in addition the increased population in the district caused the girls intermediate school to be elevated to high school status.

The foundation stone of the high school's new school was placed in honor of the seventh anniversary of the victory of the glorious Sawr revolution, and work on the new construction is continuing. This building, which will have 25 basic classrooms and other auxiliary rooms, is being built at a cost of 45 million afghanis from the state's development budget by the Ministry of Education's construction department.

The building plan for the new high school has kept the requirements of a new educational system in mind, and thus plans were made for necessary auxiliary rooms, such as laboratories, a clinic, a library, rooms for party and social organizations, and administrative and instructional sections.

The high school's new building will have a capacity of 3,000 students in two shifts, and the construction work on it will be concluded by the end of the 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] school year through voluntary labor and the participation of the labor force of the Kabul City Seventh District Party Committee.

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BANGLADESH

#### ERSHAD INAUGURATES MEETING OF PLAN PANEL

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] President Hussain Muhammad Ershad said in Dhaka on Thursday that the Third Five Year Plan had envisaged creation of more employment opportunities and equitable distribution of wealth along side the efforts for achieving greater economic growth in the country, reports BSS.

Inaugurating the National Panel meeting on Third Five Year Plan at the Planning Commission auditorium, the President said with this end in view the families all over the country had been divided into ten socio-economic groups depending on their earnings and land holdings.

He said out of this ten groups, eight are in the rural areas and two in the urban townships. The process of development, employments, distribution of wealth and consumption of goods would be reflected through the implementation of the policy framework and the participation of each of these groups in the development pursuit.

President Ershad said at the same time arrangements had been made for annual evaluation of development policy, process and activities during the plan period.

The President said a review of the results of planned development process of the last five years showed that despite advancement made in some special sectors, the overall condition of the common people had not been improved that much. So the outline of the Third Five Year Plan was based on the backdrop of concern of poverty and unemployment in the society, he said.

The inaugural session was also addressed by the Planning Minister, Mr Sultan Ahmed Chowdhury, Member Planning Commission Dr. A.H. Shahadatullah and the Secretary of Planning Commission, Mr. Ahmed Farid.

Giving a brief outline of the major objectives of the TFYP, President Ershad said the target had been fixed to bring down the population growth rate at 1.8 per cent by the terminal year of the plan period.

Besides, he said targets had also been fixed for creation of additional 50 lakh production-oriented employments, achievement of food autarky, development of manpower resources, further strengthening of private sector in the

national economy, adoption of realistic industrial policy by maintaining a coordination with agriculture sector and development of gas, power and fuel.

President Ershad said the TFYP was also designed for attainment of self-sufficiency in textile productions and improvement in the primary health and medicare facilities of the rural people. In order to attain these objectives, the size of the TFYP had been fixed at Taka 38,600 crore, he said adding: the Government is ready to extend all facilities for the increased investment in the private sector in addition to its role stipulated in the plan.

#### Austerity Stressed

In this context, he emphasised the need for austerity in all spheres of the national life to enhance the share of the domestic participation in the implementation of the TFYP. The cornerstone of this austerity should be to make sacrifice by the relatively well-to-do section for the national development, he said.

The President said the spirit that inspired the nation for waging the Liberation War was to emancipate the people from the curse of poverty. Hence, he said the primary objective behind the planned development programme in the post liberation period was to effect positive improvement of the rural economy for ensuring the fruits of development for all.

But, he said in the process of implementation of these development plans, the objectives could not be achieved.

Later, the President attended the working session of the panel meeting.

Speaking on the occasion, the President said planning in a developing country like Bangladesh must have its root in the soil.

He described the population boom as the biggest problem now facing the country and said if the planners failed to visualise the problem in totality, all the development efforts would be rendered meaningless.

The President pointed out that the donors had already appreciated Bangladesh's aid utilisation and said the country had now become a model of development of all the developing countries.

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CSO: 4600/1099

BANGLADESH

HASINA INAUGURATES AWAMI LEAGUE SEMINAR

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Oct 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] Awami League President Sheikh Hasina said that foreign assistance received by the country had not benefited the millions of people in the rural areas. It had only helped a handful of people in the urban areas to fatten their coffer, she added.

She, however said that she was not against foreign assistance but would accept no assistance at the cost of national sovereignty.

She feels that disinvestment of nationalised industries, banks and insurance companies at throw away prices had opened the way for plundering the national wealth in the name of strengthening private sector.

She made these observations in her inaugural speech at the seminar organised by the party on Thursday at the Institute of Engineers. She made critical reference to Bangladesh foreign policy and observed that the present Government was pursuing a policy of appeasement.

She said that there has been a total degeneration of the moral values and the anti-liberation forces have been made the vanguard of national sovereignty for protecting the power base of the rulers. The Awami League chief further said that Bangladesh is now known as the lackey of the capitalist, monopolist and imperialist countries.

She said that a socialist economy was the only answer to the present economic woes of the country.

The Awami League chief favoured a strong public sector. She felt the necessity of a neutral assessment of the economic activities of the last ten years which include the BNP role.

The Awami League chief also said that price of commodities increased by more than two and a half times the price index of 1974-75, country's industry is on the verge of ruination, Bangladesh is going to lose the jute market due to wrong economic policy pursued by the Government.

She felt the need for a public statement supported by statistics to prove that introduction of free capitalist economy and disinvestment of nationalised



industry, banks and insurance companies has made the country's economy dynamic and to prove that the socialist economy pursued by Awami League Government has retarded development.

In her seven-page cyclostayed speech the Awami League chief concluded by saying that they want to free people from the present chaotic situation and to establish democracy.

The seminar on Thursday was divided in two sessions. The first session on 'Aims & objectives of independence democracy of the oppressed' was presided over by party leader Mr Abdul Malek Ukil. Mr Abu Zafar Shamsuddin, Mr Justice S.M. Hussain, Mr Justice Debosh Bhattacharya, Mr Zillur Rahman, former IG of Police Mr Abdul Khaleque, President of the Federal Union of Journalists Mr Habibur Rahman Milan participated in the discussion.

The second session on non-aligned foreign policy was presided over by party leader Mr Abdus Samad Azad.

Dr. Kamal Hussain, Mr. Justice K.M. Sobhan and noted journalist and former Ambassador Mr K.G. Mustafa, took part in the discussion.

Awami League leader and former Foreign Minister Dr. Kamal Hussain said that an independent and non-aligned foreign policy could only be pursued by an elected government, and such a government would be capable to resist block influence.

He said further that SARC was a positive development and claimed that late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and late Mrs. Indira Gandhi had jointly initiated a move to form such a regional forum a year after independence. Such a forum composed of elected democratic government could function as 'Commonwealth of South Asia.'

Dr. Kamal Hussain further claimed that the release of 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war was agreed upon to promote good neighbourly relations and not under pressure from any quarter.

He also claimed that the 25 years friendship treaty between Bangladesh and India was placed in the Parliament. It was not rescinded by subsequent governments.

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CSO: 4600/1099

BANGLADESH

ERSHAD, HASINA DISCUSS JUTE GROWERS' PROBLEMS

Ershad at Patgram

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Patgram (Lalmonirhat), Oct. 9--President Hussain Muhammad Ershad said here today that the price of SMR (rejection grade) jute was fixed at Taka 200 per maund by the Government despite resources constraints to protect the interests of growers, reports BSS.

Addressing a huge public meeting at the Jasimuddin Kazi Abdul Gani College ground here the President said the step was aimed at ensuring fair prices of raw jute to farmers.

He said jute harvest this year was very good and as a result the jute prices had gone down. But following various measures taken up by the Government to protect the interests of growers including purchase of increased quantity of jute the prices in the jute market had already stabilised considerably.

The meeting was also addressed by the Jute and Textile Minister Abdus Sattar and the local Upazija Chairman Hakim Ahmed Rouf.

The Minister for Local Government Rural Development and Cooperatives Major General Mahmudul Hassan and the ZMLA Zone 'B' were present.

President Ershad said the time has come for people to realise that peace and discipline are the essential pre-requisites for building a stable society. "We must understand this truth and put in 'our united hard' work for achieving the country's overall development to improve the lot of the people who were deprived and neglected for ages," he said.

The President said in a poor country like Bangladesh everything cannot be achieved overnight. We need patience and sincere hard work to overcome the difficulties and build a happy and prosperous country.

Turning to the students President Ershad advised them to dedicate their time and energy to acquiring knowledge instead of indulging in politicking. "You are the future of the nation and you should not waste your valuable time," he said, adding, "you must build yourself properly to shoulder the future responsibility of the country."

In this context he said the present Government has given high priority to education which is the manifestation of its sincere desire to remove the curse of illiteracy from the society.

Speaking about the local problems the President said the Government had already sanctioned Taka three crore and 50 lakh for the construction of the Patgram-Lalmonirhat road. Work on the road has already been started, he said.

Soon after his arrival here, President Ershad visited the local jute purchasing centre. He was informed by the officials there that about 40 thousand maunds of raw jute was purchased so far in the centre which is almost double the target of purchase fixed for the centre during the current season.

The President was also informed that the purchase this year at the centre was so heavy that a huge quantity of jute had to be stored in parts of the local boys and girls high schools and hired godowns. A large quantity of jute is also stored in the purchasing centre premises covered with polythene sheets due to non-availability of roofed space.

The officials said more jute is being purchased at the centre and the average prices of SMR jute and low grade jute are Taka 203 to 205 per maund.

President Ershad expressed satisfaction at the purchase of raw jute at the centre and asked the officials to ensure proper arrangements of storage. He also directed the concerned authorities to make arrangements to provide railway wagons for quick transportation of jute to the end users.

President Ershad said his government had taken up various steps to protect the rights of women. In this context he referred to the enacting of laws against oppressions of women and dowry system.

He urged the girl students to stand by their illiterate sisters in the rural areas and help them in establishing their rights in the society.

Earlier on arrival here, the President was given a rousing reception by the people of all walks of life including students, freedom fighters, women and children. They stood on both sides of the route and greeted the President with welcome slogans and clappings.

On way to Patgram the President made a stopover at Rangpur. He handed over two buses to the teachers and students of Rangpur Carmichael College and Rangpur Polytechnic Institute.

The buses will facilitate the students of the two institutions who have been staying far away to attend their classes on time.

The Deputy Commissioner of Gaibandha handed over a cheque for Taka one lakh to President Ershad toward the President's Relief Fund as the contribution of the district officials and employees.

Hasina Statement

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina in a statement said that they will restore the lost democratic rights of the people foiling all conspiracies of the present administration through continuation of the peoples movement.

The Awami League leader giving her reaction to comments by President Ershad in a recent Press conference and rally of the government-backed political front. She observed that the remarks about national leaders and politics were indecent. Sheikh Hasina in her statement referred to the challenge by President Ershad on price of jute and said that although she has accepted the challenge President Ershad in spite of fulfilling his commitment was now bypassing his earlier stand. She added that she had put forward her own point of view in the Press conference. She denied that she mentioned about any secret fund. She further said that she clearly stated that they will be able to ensure jute price at Taka 500 through reduction of expenditure in unproductive sector payment of required subsidy, proper state level management and controlling the market operation.

Sheikh Hasina also said that it is now known to all that who is responsible for the present state of jute in the country. The government has fixed Taka 200 per maund as price of jute when the cost of production according to government estimate is Taka 237 and over Taka 300 according to unofficial estimate. It is not true that SMR variety was selling at Taka 200, other grades at higher price. The growers were not even the export quality jute not to speak of SMR quality. [sentence as published] Jute, the golden fibre of Bangladesh, has become a burden due to the wrong policy pursued by the Government.

Sugar Export

Sugar was exported during the Awami League rule, she said. But now the sugar industry has been destroyed in the interest of the foreign masters and local importers, she observed. Production of potato has become meaningless due to lack of proper government initiative.

The Awami League president said that people will never accept anything except holding of free and fair parliamentary election on the basis of five-point demand. She added that their earlier stand regarding election was very clear and it will remain the same. We want free and fair election in a conducive atmosphere.

Farhad

Mr. Monammad Farhad, General Secretary of Communist Party of Bangladesh, in a statement termed the recent remark of President Ershad as 'unfortunate' and said that the Government was not willing to hold a free and fair election. He demanded withdrawal of restrictions on open politics.

The Executive Committee of the United People's Party (Arefin) in a resolution adopted in its meeting on Wednesday deplored the remarks of President Ershad at a Press conference on Monday.

Mr. Shamsul Arefin presided over the meeting. Mr. M.A. Hasan, Mr. Ahmed Hussain, Mr. Enamul Huq Choudhury, Miah Muhammad Murad and Mr. Ataur Rahman Dhali participated in the discussion.

The meeting criticised the decision to disinvest the nationalised banks and industries. It also observed that only a sovereign elected parliament has the right to take decision of such a significant issue.

The meeting expressed solidarity with the struggle of the transport workers and mass demand day on October 14 by seven-party alliance.

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CSO: 4600/1098

'HUGE' BITUMINOUS COAL DEPOSIT FOUND IN PARBATIPUR

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Oct 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Monowar Hossain]

[Text]

A huge deposit of high grade bituminous coal has been found at a depth of only 520 feet below the surface in Parbatipur upazila of Dinajpur district.

A group of geologists of the Geological Survey of Bangladesh, while carrying out subsurface investigation for economic mineral deposits in the northern region of the country in March-April last, discovered the coal deposit at Barapukuria of Parbatipur.

The test drilling was done upto a depth of 1475 feet and seven coal seams (layers) were found between 520 feet and 1220 feet. The thickness of the coal seams ranged from one foot to 130 feet. Total thickness of the seven seams has been estimated to be 200 feet.

According to available records, the deposit at Barapukuria is at the shallowest depth such deposits so far known in the country. So the prospect of commercial exploitation of the coal is very bright.

A member of the prospecting team expressed his belief that the expanse of the seams of coal should be large. But, he said to know the exact quantity of the deposit another survey have to be carried out. This is, however, comparatively easier once the location of the deposit is known, he said.

The chemical analysis of the coal samples showed that the coal content was 51.02 per cent to 58.82 per cent with average fixed carbon of 53.88 per cent. The calorific value of the samples ranged from 11.050 to 14.170

BTU (British Thermal Unit) per pound. The samples were dull black to shining black, less fractured and medium hard.

Barapukuria is situated at a distance of about six kilometers north east of Phulbari railway station in Parbatipur upazila and is accessible by a fairweather road.

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CSO: 4600/1100



BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

EUROPEAN COMMISSION AID--Brussels, Oct 10 (Reuter)--The European Commission is to give Bangladesh and Angola a total of 27.3 million ECU (about 22.6 million dollars) for schemes to bring life in rural areas above poverty level, a Commission spokesman said today. Bangladesh was to receive 25.5 million ECU (about 21 million dollars) for a project to improve rural infrastructures, develop human resources, create paid jobs for the rural landless and encourage productivity in marginal farmers, he said. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Oct 85 p 8] /6091

PRC TEA PURCHASE--China is for the first time buying tea from Bangladesh. A purchase mission from Beijing now visiting Bangladesh is learnt to have finalised deals with two private firms for 2.5 lakh kg. It is looking for buying another 2.5 lakh kg. Chinese purchase has left a good impact on the tea gardeners. "It shows we have been able to achieve some qualitative improvement in our tea," said one producer. They expressed the hope that China would import more of our tea at competitive price. A trade delegation from Pakistan visited Dhaka and Chittagong last week also showed interest in buying increased quantity of tea from Bangladesh. Despite new buyers in the market tea price was showing downward trend. In Chittagong auction market Monday it went down to Tk 5 per kg on the average compared to that a fortnight ago. Bangladesh produces around 40 million pounds of tea, 75 per cent of which are exported to European, Middle East and Scandinavian countries. This year export target was fixed at 32 million kg as against last year's export of 29 million kg. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 23 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

NEW PRC AMBASSADOR--China has appointed Mr. Zheng Jianying its new Ambassador to Bangladesh, the Foreign Office announced, reports BSS. Born in September 1930, Mr. Zheng Jianying held various important positions at home and abroad in the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China including Deputy Division Chief of Asian Affairs Department, Division Chief of the Second Asian Affairs Department, Counsellor of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Islamic Republic of Pakistan. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Oct 85 p 8] /6091

PRISONERS IN INDIA--The Bangladesh Society for the Enforcement of Human Rights expressed concern over indifference of Bangladesh Mission in India regarding detention of over 400 Bangladeshis including 160 women in

Amritasar (India) Jail and urged the government for making arrangement for their return home. The society also urged the Government for a statement on Bangladeshis detained in jails in Burma, Malaysia and some other countries. Mr. Nazmul Huda, Secretary General of the society, said that those Bangladeshis fell victims to plans of the cheats. Mr. A.M. Solaiman, President of Krishak Sramik Party, in a separate statement urged the government for making arrangements for bringing back those Bangladeshis languishing in Indian jails. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

TRADE WITH PRC--China will buy goods worth US dollar 36 million under the existing Bartar agreement, according to an official handout on Saturday, reports BSS. The commodities to be imported by China include raw jute worth US dollar 14 million, hides and skin worth US dollar 16 million and tea worth US dollar 5 million. China will buy more jute, skin and tea from Bangladesh in future. She showed keen interest to buy goat tails hooks and kassings. During President Ershad's recent visit to China the Chinese Premier assured that China would take positive steps to reduce the existing trade gap between the two countries. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

UPAZILLA CHAIRMAN'S TENURE--Dhaka, Oct 12--The Government has decided to extend the tenure of office of the Upazila Parishad chairman to five years from the existing three years, reports BSS. The decision was taken at a meeting of the National Implementation Committee of Administrative Reorganisation (NICAR) held at the CMLA's Secretariat on Saturday with President Hussain Muhammad Ershad in the chair. The meeting decided that the Upazila Parishad chairman would head the governing bodies of all non-government secondary schools outside the Paurashavas. It also decided that Upazila chairmen would be the chairmen of the Upazila irrigation committees. Ceiling of telephone bills of the chairmen was also raised to Taka 300 from Taka 100 per month. The amount covers trunk call bills. The meeting was attended by Deputy Chief Martial Law Administrator and Chairman of NICAR Rear Admiral Sultan Ahmad, Ministers for Home Affairs, Public Works, Law and Justice, Health and Population Control and Local Government Rural Development and Cooperatives, Secretaries of the concerned Ministries, PSO to the CMLA and ZMLAs. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Oct 85 p 1] /6091

WHEAT FROM FRG--Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) will provide 20 thousand metric tons of wheat worth about Taka 12 crore to Bangladesh. Besides, FRG will also provide a commodity grant of DM 23.5m (about Taka 23.5 crore) to Bangladesh for the current financial year, a PID handout said, reports BSS. Two separate agreements to this effect were signed in Dhaka on Monday between Bangladesh and FRG. Dr S.A. Samad, Joint Secretary External Resources Division (ERD), and Mr Klaus M. Franke, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in Bangladesh, signed the agreements on behalf of their respective government. This commodity grant is a part of the German bilateral financial cooperation for the financial year 1985-86. The fund will be eligible for import of industrial equipments, raw and auxiliary materials, agricultural machinery, spare parts and accessories of all kinds,

chemical products and advisory services. In addition to this, the FRG Government since liberation provided commodity aid to Bangladesh amounting to DM 713.4m (Taka 713.5 crore) approximately. Out of the wheat grant 10 thousand metric tons of wheat shall be used for Food for Works Programme under the auspices of World Food Programme. In this arrangement Tangail district will be given special preference. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Oct 85 p 8] /6091

CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER--The High Commissioner designate for Canada to Bangladesh, Mr Anthony Gustave Vincent presented his credentials to President Hussain Muhammad Ershad at Bangabhaban on Tuesday morning, reports BSS. The new High Commissioner expressed the hope that during his tenure of office the existing friendly ties and excellent cooperation between the two friendly Commonwealth countries will be further strengthened. President Ershad assured Mr Vincent of all possible assistance and cooperation for the smooth discharge of his duties. Earlier on arrival at Bangabhaban, the Canadian High Commissioner was given a guard of honour by the President's guard regiment. He took the salute and inspected the guard. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Oct 85 p 8] /6091

PRESS COUNCIL MEMBERS--The government has announced the name of 12 members of the Press Council nominated by different organisations for a term of two years, reports BSS. It said the nominations made under the Press Council Act would be effective from September 12, 1985. Category-wise names of the members to the Press Council are as follows: Bangladesh Federal Union of Journalists (BFUJ): Mr. Yasin Ahmed, Mofussil Editor, Daily Ittefaq Mr. Shahjahan Mia, News Editor, BSS and Mr Obaidul Hoq, Staff Reporter, Daily Azadi, Chittagong. Bangladesh Council of Editors for Newspapers, and News Agencies: Mr Obaidul Huq, Editor Daily News, Mr Shamsur Rahman, Chief Editor, Dainik Bangla and Mr AZM Haider, Editor ENA. Bangladesh Sangbadpatra Parishad: Mr Ahmedul Kabir, Managing Director, The Sangbad Limited, Mr M. Moyeedul Islam, Chairman, Bangladesh Times Trust, and Mr Habibul Bashar, Proprietor, The Morning Post and the Saturday Post. The University Grants Commission: Prof Muhammad Moniruzzaman, Department of Bengali, Dhaka University. Mr Abu Salek, senior advocate, Supreme Court and Quazi Muhammad Munzur-e-Mowla, Director General, Bangla Academy have been nominated by Bangladesh Bar Council and Bangla Academy respectively. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Oct 85 p 5] /6091

ERSHAD ON POLLS--New York, Oct 19--Elections to parliament will be held in March-April, next year, President H. M. Ershad said on October 15 in an interview with prominent journalist Abdul Gaffar Chowdhury. The interview published in a bilingual weekly, 'Probashi,' in New York took place in London where the President stopped over on his way to the Bahamas to attend the Commonwealth summit. In the two-hour interview, President Ershad said with firmness that even if the opposition political parties did not want it, he would go ahead with the parliamentary elections. In answer to a question, the President denied that he ever talked of Armed Forces participation in power. About his taking over the administration, he said he did not come to power through bloodbath. When asked about assassinated President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he said he would install Bangabandhu in his proper place in the national history. [By Badiuzzaman Khasru] [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 20 Oct 85 pp 1, 8] /6091

**FAMILY PLANNING ACCORD**--An agreement was signed between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for bilateral Technical Cooperation for "MCH-based Family Planning Project in Munshigonj District" in Dhaka yesterday, says an official handout. German Ambassador Mr Klaus M. Franke and Mr A BM Ghulam Mostafa, Secretary, Ministry of Health and Population Control signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments. The MCH-based family planning project, Munshigonj, which started in 1979 aims at strengthening the national population control programme in its efforts to set up an efficient system for Primary Health Care and Family Planning Service in rural areas through improved management, supply, supervision and monitoring. The German technical assistance covers a wide range of services and supplies including the services of two experts, the construction of 20 health and family welfare centres, equipment, supply of 13 million cycles of oral pill, support to Information Education & Motivation (IFM) activities, research and evaluation in a limited scale in family planning and public health, up to October 1987. Under the agreement, the population control programme will receive German contribution of nearly Taka 10 crore, equivalent for the project activities as mentioned above. Both Governments have expressed their satisfaction over the growing Bangladesh-German friendly collaboration and cooperation in progress. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 17 Oct 85 pp 1, 8] /6091

**PRC FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION**--An extended meeting of the managing committee of Bangladesh-China Friendship Association held yesterday with its Vice President Kamrul Islam expelled Mirza Golam Hafiz from the Association. The meeting was attended among others, by the Association's Vice Presidents Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Fisheries and Livestock Minister Sirajul Hossain Khan, Dr. T. Ali and Dr. A. Sobhan. Kamrul Islam, Vice President of the Association, will act as President of the Association until the holding of its next council meeting as decided at the meeting. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 9 Oct 85 p 8] /6091

**INDIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER**--The High Commissioner designate of India to Bangladesh Mr Indrajit Singh Chadha, presented his credentials to President Ershad at Bangabhaban on Thursday morning, reports BSS. Presenting his letter of credence the new High Commissioner expressed the hope that during his tenure of office the existing friendly ties and cooperation between the two friendly neighbouring Commonwealth countries will be further strengthened. Reciprocating the sentiments President Ershad assured Mr Chadha of all possible assistance and cooperation in the smooth discharge of his duties. Earlier, on arrival at Bangabhaban the Indian High Commissioner was given a Guard of Honour by the President's Guard Regiment. He took the salute and inspected the guard. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 12 Oct 85 p 3] /6091

CSO: 4600/1101

INDIA

## ANALYST ON EFFORTS TO SETTLE TAMIL SITUATION

Calcutta THE HINDU in English 12 Oct 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 11.

The satisfaction of the Government of India over the success of its efforts in bringing about an agreement between the Tamil militants and the Sri Lankan Government over the monitoring of the ceasefire was reflected in almost identical statements made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, describing this as a first major step towards an ultimate solution of the island's ethnic problem.

After Mr. Rajiv Gandhi described it today as a "major achievement", Mr. Bhandari said that India could now concentrate on substantive discussions with both sides on the main elements of a settlement in the light of the talks that he already had with them.

**New development:** A new development today was that the Prime Minister had asked the Minister of State for Internal Security, Mr. Arun Nehru, to meet the leaders of the six Tamil groups—the four constituents of the ENLF, TULF and PLOT—and get a clearer idea of their concerns, before Mr. Bhandari had one more round of talks with them later in the day to get a more precise account of their responses to the Sri Lankan offer of limited devolution.

The Tamil militants refused to engage in any formal discussions on the contents of the working papers as such during their talks in Delhi, but they had participated in informal exchanges that adequately indicated their disappointment with the limited autonomy that was being offered under the guise of a political settlement. But these talks that were conducted partly by Mr. Bhandari and partly by the Electricity Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. S. Ramachandran, enabled the Government of India to assess their broad reactions to the basic framework of the proposed devolution and identify their basic objections to the proposals contained in the working paper that did not go far enough in conceding the demand for a Tamil homeland as part of a united Sri Lankan State.

The Foreign Secretary, in consultation with

Mr. Arun Nehru, has prepared a note summing up the Tamils position for the Prime Minister's information, so that he could talk to the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, in Bahamas with fuller knowledge of their apprehensions. After Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's return from his foreign trip, the threads of these discussions would be resumed by Mr. Bhandari with both the leaders of the Tamil groups and the Sri Lankan Government.

**Over-riding factor:** For the time being, the main Indian effort is directed at using all its influence to prevent any serious ceasefire violations before the expanded monitoring committee starts functioning properly by setting up the necessary machinery for inquiring swiftly into allegations of violence. As Mr. Bhandari put it, an over-riding factor that has been working against any meaningful dialogue during these indirect talks with the Tamil groups and the Sri Lankan Government was the continuance of ceasefire violations leading to loss of many lives on both sides.

At a press conference he addressed this afternoon to give details of the Prime Minister's visits to Britain, Bahamas, Cuba and the United Nations, the Foreign Secretary said that the Government of India was satisfied with the terms of reference of the monitoring committee and hoped that it would act as a deterrent to ceasefire violations. Though it did not have any preventive role, the monitoring committee consisting of many eminent citizens could exert moral pressure on both sides to desist from further violations by inquiring swiftly into complaints and establishing the facts in each case.

Otherwise, Mr. Bhandari did not hold out any prospect of a resumption of direct dialogue at this stage between the Tamil leaders and the Sri Lankan Government. He said that direct talks would take place at the right time after the ground had been prepared through indirect exchanges to evolve a mutually acceptable basis for detailed negotiations.

An important feature of the latest round of talks in Delhi is that it has ended on a cordial



note with no signs of any uneasiness on the part of the Tamil militants that they were being pressured or hustled into negotiating on the basis of the working paper, since it was made amply clear to them that the Government of India had no such intention. But unfortunately the differences between the ENLF and PLOT surfaced today over their views on the role of the monitoring committee in preserving the ceasefire.

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CSO: 4600/1121



INDIA

CONCERN OVER TERRORISM IN PUNJAB, DELHI NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Oct. 20.

The Centre is concerned at the renewed incidence of terrorism in Punjab after a brief respite from violence following the formation of a popular Government in the State.

Almost every day there is some incident or the other in which a Congress (I) local leader or an alleged Akali collaborator is killed, attacked or threatened by the extremists who are bent on carrying on their campaign of violence.

The Central and State Governments, which are taking a serious view of this menace, are stepping up preventive measures while intensifying the search for those perpetrating these crimes to generate communal tensions and disturb peace in the State. These precautions include intensification of internal security measures in Punjab and Haryana, besides greater vigilance along the Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan borders to meet the threat of increased infiltration.

**Integrated approach:** The Minister of State for Internal Security, Mr. Arun Nehru, has gone to Chandigarh to meet the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana, besides discussing the law and order situation with the heads of the police and intelligence agencies in the two States. His colleague at the Centre, Mr. Arun Singh, who is in the Ministry of Defence, has been

looking after the external aspects of the security situation in the border States, as part of an integrated approach to the problem of terrorism.

At the diplomatic level, the Government of India has succeeded in persuading the British, Canadian and U.S. Governments to take tougher steps to curb the activities of the Sikh extremists abroad who continue to encourage the terrorists in Punjab with highly exaggerated accounts of foreign support for Khalistan. The extension of the extradition and anti-terrorist laws in Canada and Britain to curb this insidious activity, followed by increased police vigilance in the U.S. against the Sikh extremists, is having a salutary effect on them.

Meanwhile, the security precautions in Delhi are being kept up at the optimum level to pre-

vent terrorists from attacking those on the hit lists or engaging in violent incidents to embarrass the Government. The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, is being kept informed with daily reports on the general law and order situation both in the capital and the adjoining border States.

**Watch along borders:** The army also has been keeping a close watch all along the borders to see whether the recent increase of incidents in some of the sensitive sectors represent any particular pattern of activity on the Pakistan side. The weekly average of these border incidents involving exchange of fire which increased rather sharply before the Punjab elections but came down subsequently has been registering a sharp rise again.

The Indian authorities are not jumping to any hasty conclusions, but they are not also taking any chances by treating such exchanges of fire as stray incidents not deserving any special attention. It is not so much the external defence aspects as the internal security repercussions of these incidents that have been causing some concern here.

**Revamping police:** The Government is expected to take at least two to three years to revamp the police and border security forces in the Northern States facing Pakistan. But what is important is that it does not want to waste any more time in starting off with this task through a coordinated approach to the external and internal threats of terrorism.

Apart from increasing the strength of the civil police and paramilitary forces, the Centre wants to modernise them by improving their living standards, training facilities, transport and communications, and weaponry to cope with different types of violence. The intelligence agencies also will be expanded and improved for ensuring a more reliable in-flow of information about the activities of subversive elements to apprehend them before they indulge in acts of terrorism.

INDIA

PUNJAB, KASHMIR TERRORISTS REPORTED TO LINK UP

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 18 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 17--That there is a close link-up and collaboration between the pro-Pakistani secessionist elements of Jammu and Kashmir and the Akali terrorists of Punjab has been conclusively established in course of investigations by the Union Home Ministry and the intelligence agencies of the Centre and Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr M.M. Khajuria, director general of police, Jammu and Kashmir, said here today that the close connection between the two groups was apparent from the recent bomb explosion in the exhibition ground in Srinagar, in which one person was killed and the arrest of the Akali terrorist, Mithben Singh, and the admission by him. There was proof that "the inspiration is from the same source," he said.

He said that the Jammu and Kashmir police were now "positive" that "the link-up exists," and that "there is a brain guiding these activities both in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. We are now working to find out where the guidance is coming from and the source from which they get their weapons and incendiary materials."

Mr Khajuria said that the surveillance by the Jammu and Kashmir security forces and intelligence had been intensified to track the source and there was coordination with the Central intelligence agencies and the Union Home Ministry.

The State intelligence set-up had of late been thoroughly overhauled to enable it to cope with the problem, and it was keeping the strictest watch over the anti-national and secessionist elements in Jammu and Kashmir, "so that none who is suspected of such activities will be spared."

Mr Khajuria said he would not comment on the reports that the anti-national and secessionist activities in Jammu and Kashmir were going on during Mr G.M. Shah's regime with "equal impunity" as before, but felt that "there is a certain amount of exaggeration in such reports."

For example, he pointed out that the reports in newspapers relating to the happenings, such as hoisting of Pakistani flags, on August 14 had been blown up.

The next day, India's Independence Day, only a black flag was intercepted. The Jammu and Kashmir police had deployed commandos a day before (August 14) to keep vigil and foil the attempts of trouble-makers.

He said that the police were keeping vigil over the activities of the Jammat-e-Islami and its student wing, the Shoba. The Jammat-e-Tulaba was no longer as strong as it was before. However, the two Jammats had their influence over madrassas (schools) and over religious congregations.

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CSO: 5650/33

INDIA

# INDIA WELCOMES CANADA'S EXTENSION OF EXTRADITION ACT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 19 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 18--Canada today extended its Extradition Act to India, strengthening India's efforts to clamp down on terrorists operating on foreign soil to the detriment of the country's unity and integrity, reports PTL.

The extension of the act, with effect from October 31, would enable India to seek the extradition of Indians convicted or charged with offences here, but who had fled to Canada.

The Canadian move comes after Mr Rajiv Gandhi's efforts a couple of days ago to have a similar extradition treaty with the British Government during his talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, on London.

A Canadian High Commission communique here today said the Canadian Government had by order-in-council proclaimed part II of the Extradition Act effective from October 31, 1985.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman in Ottawa had expressed on Tuesday his government's firmness to contain Sikh extremists and stop them misusing Canadian liberalism and decency.

He said that the Canadian Government and people were not aware of the gravity of the situation in Punjab till the assassination of Mrs Gandhi and more recently the crash of the Air-India Boeing killing 329 people over the Atlantic.

India had always complained about lack of response from Canada, the United Kingdom, and the USA in taking action against terrorists guiding disruptive activities in Punjab during the past few years.

Yesterday, an Indian External Affairs spokesman said the Canadian offer of extradition treaty was "very positive."

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CSO: 5650/35

INDIA

# ARRESTED SIKHS IN UK ARE ISYF MEMBERS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

**London, Oct 17 (UNI) —** The four Sikh militants charged with conspiring to assassinate Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi were today remanded in custody by the Leicester magistrate.

They were charged by the Leicester police last night with plotting to murder Mr Gandhi during his first official visit to Britain which ended last Tuesday.

All of them belonged to the International Sikh Youth Federation.

Federation treasurer Parmatma Singh, federation activists Jarnail Singh, Sukhvinder Singh Gill and Narinder Singh today appeared before the Leicester magistrate where they were charged.

Originally, they were subjects of a 48-hour order, after their arrest on Friday last under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, but police gained a five-day extension to carry out further investigations.

The four were among ten Sikh and Kashmiri extremists detained in north England, the Midlands and London in a nation-wide police operation before Mr Gandhi's visit.

Eleven other Sikhs and Kashmiris, arrested over the weekend, have been released without charges.

Narinder Singh has also been charged with possessing offensive weapons.

About 300 Sikh militants, including some women, demonstrated outside the court against the charges and demanded that they be allowed to witness the proceedings.

Only 30 of them were allowed to enter the court.

The raids followed weeks of undercover operations by the special branch of the police.

The announcement last night that the four had been charged came just 24 hours after discussions between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Mr Gandhi on steps to deal with Sikh extremists in Britain.

The idea behind talks between the two Prime Ministers was to prevent people accused of crime in either country from ducking extradition on claims that their offences were political.

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CSO: 5650/34

INDIA

ECONOMISTS PARLEY CONCERNED OVER POLICY TRENDS

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 13 Oct 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] The three-day conference of economists which ended in Calcutta on Saturday expressed concern over the recent trends in economic policies which, they thought, would lead to an accentuation of inequalities and unemployment and aggravate the country's foreign exchange problem.

The conference was organized by the West Bengal State Planning Board. Among the 28 economists who attended it were Mr Bhabatosh Datta, Mr Amiya Bagchi, Mr Krishna Raj, Mr. C.P. Chandrasekhar, Mr K.K. George, Mr N. Krishnaji, Mr Prabhat Patnaik, Mr H.K. Paranjape, Mr Balraj Mehta, Mr Balwanth Reddy, Mr Kanta Ranadive, Mr G. Thimmaiah, Mr A. Vaidyanathan, Mr Ramaprasad Sengupta, Mr Deepak Banerjee, Mr Mihir Rakshit, Mr A.K. Ghosh and Mr Ashim Dasgupta.

In a joint statement issued at the end of the conference, the economists expressed the fear that the recent policies of the Centre would take the country further away from the accepted national objectives of growth with equity and self-reliance. They complained that unlike in the past, the Seventh Plan draft had not been made public before its acceptance by the Union Cabinet. Mr Ashok Mitra, West Bengal's Finance Minister, told the Press conference, at which the statement was released, that he and Mr Jyoti Basu, State's Chief Minister, had contacted the Planning Commission officials in Delhi about 10 days ago for a copy of the Seventh Plan draft. According to him, they were told that it was a "confidential" document.

According to the economists, the change in economic policies was apparent in the relaxation of industrial licensing, raising of the MRTP limits, import liberalization, reduction in direct taxes on corporate and personal incomes and wealth, concessions in indirect taxes on items of luxury consumption and relaxation of controls on the operations of "transnational corporations." The combination of these policies would benefit only the rich, they felt.

The import liberalization would result in enhanced imports of luxury goods, which would make Indian industries producing comparable goods suffer in the competition, they warned. This, in the context of the current global recession, would worsen the country's "already critical" balance of payments position. Besides, the displacement of domestic production by imports and "indiscriminate



modernization" would aggravate the unemployment problem. The curtailment of the "already meagre" outlays on rural employment schemes would also worsen the problem in villages.

The economists warned that the curtailment of public investment, which had hitherto provided "an important stimulus" to private investment, would result in industrial stagnation. Referring to the view that higher public outlays are constrained by a "paucity of financial resources," they alleged that this paucity was of the Government's own making. Instead of levying and collecting more taxes from the rich, they argued, the Government had allowed "rampant tax evasion" and provided tax concessions to a point where direct taxes now amounted to "barely a fifth of total tax revenues." The fiscal crisis facing the Government was a "consequence of private enrichment at the expense of the public exchequer and the public sector."

The economists also played the Centre for its new education policy as announced in a draft. According to them, it was based on "privileged elitism, extended privatization and greater centralization of education." This would "go counter to the social and economic objectives."

The conference called for "an alternative policy based on an effective public sector as the prime mover, with public authorities having a greater access to national resources and technology in a decentralized environment." Any effort at "rejuvenating" the Indian economy must be based, it felt, on a "substantial expansion of the home market for basic consumer and producer goods." An "essential prerequisite" for this was a "faster and more evenly distributed agricultural growth."

Increased public investment must be accompanied by measures to ensure its effective utilization and equal distribution of its benefits, the economists suggested. To this end, it was imperative to have the agrarian relations restructured with the help of land reforms. Higher public outlays were essential for "meeting the problem of hunger amidst plenty" now plaguing the country. They suggested that popularly elected bodies such as the panchayats be associated with employment generating schemes to check the drain of funds into the "pockets of middlemen and contractors."

To reverse the fiscal crisis, the conference suggested, receipts from direct taxes had to be substantially increased through rationalization and expansion of the tax base to cover gifts, estates, corporate wealth and agricultural incomes. The Government should also introduce a process to prune "wasteful expenditure," particularly on defence, internal security, "unproductive" bureaucracy and transfer payments to the rich. The economists hoped that the Centre would take note of their views before finalizing the Seventh Plan.

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CSO: 4600/1125

INDIA

WORLD BANK OFFICIAL ASSESSES INDIA'S POSITION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 11 Oct 85 p 1

[Text]

SEOUL, October 10  
(UNI).

**M**R. David Hopper the World Bank's top policy official for south Asia said today that the bank would expand its lending to India in the next three years.

Mr. Hopper added that India was one of the world's most credit-worthy nations and had been following a prudent fiscal policy. He projected a growth rate of six per cent over the next three years and said the bank would increase its lending with that growth rate. Besides, the bank management would allow a six per cent increase in its lending to India in the years to come.

Dismissing doubts about the bank's plans to impose conditions on its lending to India, Mr. Hopper said this would depend on the merits of the projects.

He said there was really no need for the bank to impose any conditions as India had voluntarily undertook reforms which went far beyond what the world wanted. He then referred to the change in economic policies that has been gradually evolving since Mr. Rajiv Gandhi came to power.

Answering questions on the subject of conditionality, the bank's vice-president agreed with the concerns of the Indian government, which has steadfastly pursued an independent economic approach.

Speaking on India's economic performance, Mr. Hopper said India's has been an "amazing success story". While it was true that the government was involved in industry, the bank vice-president said India was basically a free market and the government was only on the fringes of the economic system. He called the Indian economy "penny capitalism" and said the private sector in the country was booming and the stock market had taken off.

Commenting on India's reservation on a new round of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) talks, Mr. Hopper said he understood India's concern and said it was rightfully concerned about something it was not ready for. "The country does not want to be left behind," Mr. Hopper said.

Another important issue on which the bank vice-president spoke on was the question of India's future borrowings from financial institutions like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and International Development Agency (IDA) and other commercial sources.

Mr. Hopper said in 1984 India borrowed \$ 1.7 billion from the IBRD and \$ 670 million from the IDA, and from commercial sources India borrowed about two billion dollars. This would increase in the years to come. Mr. Hopper also said that he foresaw an increase in commercial borrowing for India. India's debt servicing ratio which was 14 per cent was one of the best in the world and the country was in a position to crop up its commercial borrowings.

The bank vice-president constantly referred to the economic debate taking place in India on issues of private industry, tax policy, the review of import policies and the overall evaluation of the economic priorities. He said the bank was satisfied with India's growth and predicted that it had a sound economic future.

The stumbling block is the USA, which is doggedly refusing to increase capital. The U.S. has however watered down its stand from an absolute "no" to agreeing to give "serious thought" to the subject.

The World Bank has formally informed the G-10 that a capital increase will assist in enlarging its leading programme subsequent to the poor economic by eight out of the ten G-10 nations and later even by Japan on the condition that a strict time-frame be set up. The United States has told the bank that it is not in favour of buying any fresh capital in the bank.

An indication of the kind of support the call for a general capital increase holds within the G-10 ranks was provided yesterday by the head of the British delegation who, in his annual address, called for an immediate increase in the bank's capital.

INDIA

INDIAN DELEGATE ADDRESSES SOFIA UNESCO PARLEY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 13 Oct 85 p 3

[Text]

Sofia, Oct. 12 (UNI): The Union minister for human resources development, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, yesterday called upon Unesco to strengthen man's innate will to live and his aspirations to progress.

Addressing the 23rd general conference of the organisation here as the leader of the Indian delegation, Mr Rao reaffirmed India's belief in Unesco as a symbol of the moral solidarity of the world community.

He noted that the threats to the survival of the human race emanated solely from certain points of political power and did not present the desires and aspirations of human beings anywhere.

Commenting on the United States' withdrawal from the organisation, Mr Rao said while "there may be scope for improvement in Unesco, India firmly believes that reforms can be brought about more effectively from within."

He said the trends reflected in the notices of withdrawal from Unesco by Britain and Singapore would only herald the disintegration of the United Nations system and multilateral cooperation. He said there was no other agency better suited to remove inequality, discrimination, poverty, illiteracy, diseases and hunger wherever it existed.

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CSO: 4600/1126

INDIA

BJP PARTY LEADERSHIP DISAGREES ON PARTY PHILOSOPHY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Oct 85 p 14

[Article by Ashraf Sayed]

[Text]

AHMEDABAD, October 15.

THE Gandhinagar policy declaration of the Bharatiya Janata Party is a mixed bag, containing "Gandhian socialism" and "integral humanism," as propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya, one of the founders of the erstwhile Jana Sangh.

The party leadership, which was virtually divided over continuing its political ideology, based on "Gandhian socialism," incorporated "integral humanism" as the party's basic philosophy, thereby accommodating the views of both the hardliners and liberals.

The new philosophy of the party, worked out after six days of deliberations — first at the two-day executive committee and later at the four-day national council meeting — was mainly based on the recommendations of a working group set up by the party president, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to review the party's working during the past five years.

The main task before the working group was to assess whether the party's defeat was because of its decision to merge the Jana Sangh with the Janata Party in 1977 and to withdraw from it in 1980. And should the BJP go back and revive the Bharatiya Jana Sangh?

**MERGER JUSTIFIED**

In its 48-page report, the working group had justified the party's merger with the Janata Party and later the formation of the BJP but had scrupulously avoided discussing "Gandhian socialism," so far practised by the party under the leadership of Mr. Vajpayee. Instead of directly suggesting the revival of the Jana Sangh, the working group had suggested acceptance of "integral humanism." Nowhere in the report the working group had tried to explain what "Gandhian

socialism" stood for. Instead, it merely said the party should adopt a Gandhian approach to socio-economic issues, leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation.

This new philosophy, as suggested by the working group, became the crux of the problem at the executive committee and the national council meeting, virtually dividing the party on ideological lines.

While Mr. Vajpayee and his supporters were in favour of continuing the present policies, based on Gandhian socialism, hardliners and the RSS elements, headed by the party vice-president, Mrs. Vijaya Raje Scindia, were in favour of a "distinct identity" for the party by going the Jana Sangh way. So bitter was the struggle for supremacy that the decision of the executive committee to abandoning "Gandhian socialism" and adopting integral humanism, was rejected by the national council after a marathon debate. This also made it clear that the Vajpayee group had lost ground in the executive committee, but had fought back and won the battle in the national council, which endorsed his views. But in achieving unanimity, Mr. Vajpayee and his supporters had to compromise on ideological grounds by accepting "integral humanism" as the basic ideology of the party.

This was clearly reflected in a remark made by the general secretary of the party, Mr. L. K. Advani, that "Mr. Vajpayee has accommodated all views." He declined to elaborate but it was clear that the party president had been forced to accept a line adopted by hardliners in the organisation.

**STUDIED SILENCE**

On the other hand, the hardliners who were out to change the entire complexion of the party's ideology by dropping "Gandhian socialism" also seemed to have compromised on the issue. At one stage, Mr. Advani, while briefing newsmen, had said that Gandhism stood for decentralisation and socialism advocated centralisation. He maintained a studied silence on the issue and the task was left to the party president to clarify.

While addressing the working group on the last day of its four-day session, Mr. Vajpayee took the opportunity of explaining the dramatic change in the party's stand. Mr. Vajpayee explained that Gandhian socialism, integral humanism and total revolution ultimately meant the same thing.

No leader bothered to explain what Gandhian socialism stood for, but the task of clarifying the concept of integral humanism was assigned to the party vice-president, Mr. Sunder Singh Bhandari. In his paper, Mr. Bhandari explained that a saint had evolved the concept of four purusharthas — dharma, arth, kama and moksha — to meet the needs of a man's body, mind, intellect and soul.

"Dharma is an instrument for acquiring wealth. In the absence of wealth it will not be possible to practise dharma, but preponderance of wealth also gives a setback to dharma. What sin will not be committed by one who is starving? Having satisfied hunger, if duties are forgotten, a man will refuse to work. An effortless person is a burden on society. So earth and kama should be regulated by dharma. A person who engages in action, while remaining unattached to its results, is bound to achieve "moksha" inevitably.

### INTEGRAL HUMANISM

"Thus the life of an individual can be considered in a thorough and integrated matter. Body, mind, intellect and soul have to be developed in a balanced way. The manifold aspirations of a man have to be satisfied taking care that efforts to satisfy two different aspirations are not mutually conflicting. Hence all the four purusharthas have been considered integrally. This concept of a complete human being, an integral individual, is called 'integral humanism'."

Despite this explanation by Mr. Bhandari, many journalists and party workers could not understand the new political philosophy of the party. Even the party president admitted before his workers that it was difficult to explain "Gandhian socialism" to the masses and it was more difficult to clarify "integral humanism." So a confused leadership had left even more confounded the rank and file of the party.

Another ticklish issue that was hotly debated by the executive committee and the national council was the politics of "adjustments" and "alliances" with other opposition parties. Generally, as most of the leaders bitterly criticised "the soft options" adopted by the party no clear-cut decision could be taken on the issue. The party's debacle in Himachal Pradesh and Delhi and its decision to form the N.D.A. as well as the support it extended to the Janata Party in Karnataka came under close scrutiny and the leadership was assailed by some hardliners.

The leadership has now been asked to do nothing which raises apprehensions about the separate identity of the party. Similarly, the party's relations with other parties should be based on mutuality and reciprocity as there was no place for altruism in politics.

On the party stand on "positive secularism," it was explained that this was synonymous with the Indian tradition of "sarva dharma sama bhava". "The interactions on spiritual plane between various groups and individuals may result in a variety of experiences which may sometimes appear to be quite divergent.

Different modes of religious worship and religious orders are thus bound to exist. Any social order based on integral humanism will recognise this divergence as the manifestation of different aspects of one and the same cosmic spirit. Therefore, the inescapable conclusion is that social and political institutions will always have to keep in mind that all religious experiences are to be equally respected. It is in this sense that the BJP has accepted "positive secularism."

### 'INDISCRIMINATE' IMPORTS

On the economic front, the party adopted a resolution strongly criticising "the Rajiv brand of capitalism" and said that only textile mill-owners and foreign businessmen, including multinationals, would benefit from the new economic policy. It further added that under the name of modernisation, there would be indiscriminate imports of technology, not the kind of technology that produced jobs but the kind that produced profits. There should be a balance between the social and technical needs of the country, it said.

Though the executive committee and the national council deliberations had ended on a conciliatory tone, the party president is apparently a disillusioned man. He has decided not to contest the next presidential election of the party. And he will also not contest any by-election to the Lok Sabha in the near future. One will have to watch how the party progresses in the coming months.

INDIA

PAPER REPORTS JANATA NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

12 Oct Session, Resolutions

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 13 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] Devasthali (UP), Oct 12 (PTI)--The Janata Party today launched a scathing attack on the Government charging it with causing serious distortions in economy and with following a "sinister design" to acquire coercive powers.

Over 700 delegates to the two-day convention of the party's national council, which began today, approved the economic resolution charging the Government with rejection of socialist approach and Gandhian perspective and with an abject surrender to industrial magnates, Big Business and foreign capital.

They repeatedly cheered party president Chandra Shekhar, who did not mince words in accusing the Government of following a "sinister design" to acquire more and more of coercive powers by playing upon the "highly emotive theme of national unity and integrity."

In his presidential address, Mr Chandra Shekhar was equally strong in his attack on the "burgeoning dogma" of economic pragmatism and said the implied negation of the role of ideology would create a situation in which money would "call the tune."

The council also passed a resolution on floods and drought making a number of suggestions for harnessing water resources of the country.

It condoled the deaths of a number of leaders including Sant Harchand Singh Longowal.

The party's national executive sat till past midnight last night to approve the draft political resolution. It would have the party build up a six-month nationwide campaign on several issues including right to employment and back it up with a satyagraha. It also accused the government of converting India into a national security state like other authoritarian regimes with the creation of a Ministry for Internal Security.

Releasing the political resolution as approved by its national executive Mr George Fernandes, general secretary, said the party had taken note of the fact that only military dictatorships such as in Latin America had such a Ministry.



The resolution said that the march to the 21st century and become a catch-word of the ruling establishment in its "concerted drive to repudiate the entire heritage of the freedom movement."

It said that modernisation of industry and reduction of the work-force was marching in step with the modernisation of police and its expansion.

The resolution demanded that the Centre take steps to call a meeting of Chief Ministers to discuss devolution of economic and political power to the States and panchayatraj institutions. It wanted Government-controlled media to be placed under supervision of autonomous corporations.

The party denounced "growing attacks" on civil liberties by not only Congress Governments, but Governments like those in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu.

A resolution adopted on the ethnic issue of Sri Lanka reiterated that the Government should mobilise world opinion against the genocide and against the supply of arms and military expertise to Sri Lanka and to take all possible steps to restore peace and normalcy in the Tamil speaking areas.

Moving the economic resolution, Prof Madhu Dandavate asked the partymen to prepare to wage as fierce a battle for food and employment as they did for preservation of fundamental rights under the leadership of Jaya Prakash Narayan during 1975-77.

The resolution said the very first budget of the new Government had left no ambiguity about its "pro-rich centralised economic perspective." It had raised the exemption limits of the MRTP Act and wealth tax, abolished estate duty and drastically cut down allocations for agricultural and industrial financial institutions, consumers industries and self-employment schemes.

The resolution said the Seventh Plan document had misplaced thrusts, priorities, targets and allocations and unless it was drastically restructured, it was bound to fail to meet the urgent needs of socio-economic change.

While new incentives were offered to the private sector, the scope and expanse of the public sector as the commanding heights of the country's economy were restricted and there was a tendency to transfer industries from public to private sector, the resolution said. The new textile policy had gravely disturbed the balance between the organised sector of mills and the handlooms and powerlooms sector.

The resolution said that agriculture and rural development must receive the highest priority and substantial financial allocations.

It said the Government had bolstered demand for luxury goods through concessions, while minimum human needs like drinking water and primary education in villages continued to be grossly neglected.

The liberalisation of import of goods and sophisticated technology including electronic equipment and increasing reliance on foreign capital had made a mockery of self-reliance, it said.

The party reiterated its policy that whatever could be produced in cottage industry should not be allowed to be produced in the small scale sector and whatever was produced in small scale sector should not be allowed in the large scale sector.

Earlier in his presidential address to the national council, Mr Chandra Shekhar said the ruling party had roundly labelled the Opposition as anti-national and kept on playing upon the highly emotive theme of unity and integrity, but the real danger to it would emerge from disintegration of political and social fabric caused by wrong policies of the Government.

In that event, he cautioned, however strong the Centre might be and whatever instruments of power might be placed at its disposal, it would be well-nigh impossible to preserve unity and integrity of the country.

The ruling party must, therefore, pause and think before "inventing phantom causes hurting our unity and integrity," he said.

The Janata chief ridiculed the Government's stress on cooperation from the Opposition saying it could not expect his party's cooperation for policies designed to benefit the rich and business.

#### Concluding Session

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 14 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] Devasthali, Oct 13 (PTI)--The annual convention of the Janata Party concluded here today with resolve to launch a nationwide campaign on economic issues and favouring a bolder nuclear policy.

The national council of the party approved a 12-page political resolution in the concluding session identifying eight issues, including right to employment as fundamental right, larger plan allocation for rural development, implementation of the Mandal Commission report and remunerative prices for agricultural produce for the six-month long proposed campaign.

A section of the party leaders, including Mr George Fernandes, were in favour of enrolment of civil registers with a view to launching a civil disobedience movement immediately after the campaign. The council passed an amendment to the resolution authorising party president Chandra Shekhar to decide the time and mode of the movement.

On the nuclear issue, the original resolution stated that sophisticated arms, including nuclear weapons, would not be enough for the defence of the country unless there was harmony and happiness among the people. It expressed hope that Pakistan would not plunge the sub-continent into a mini-nuclear race.

A section of party leaders, including Mr N.G. Goray, Mr Ravindra Verma and Mr Krishna Kant, got an amendment to the resolution passed that "being a sovereign nation, India has the right to exercise its nuclear policy in full freedom."

Later, briefing the press, Mr Chandra Shekhar accused the Government of diverting the people's attention from real issues like illiteracy and poverty and said this was causing unrest in the country and might lead to violence.

#### Differences:

He admitted that there was difference of opinion in the party on the nuclear issue. He, however, justified the Government stand of not signing the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Mr Chandra Shekhar said the Janata Party would welcome support from any quarter to the nationwide campaign on the economic issues, but would not seek adjustment or alliance with other parties.

The party for the first time since the Ahmedabad convention did not stress the need for Opposition unity. Mr Chandra Shekhar said the slogan of this convention was "freedom and bread for all."

The political resolution of the party accused the Congress of 'misleading' the people with the possibility of an invasion from across the border and blurring the real issues.

The political resolution said that like authoritarian regimes in the world, the Congress Government had converted India into a "national security state" with the installation of a Minister for Internal Security.

The resolution demanded a meeting of Chief Ministers for discussing devolution of economic and political powers to the States and Panchayat Raj institutions and supported Karnataka Chief Minister R.K. Hegde's plea for a third TV channel for the States. It also supported electoral reforms, including State funding of elections.

The party said that "pernicious tendencies" of the Government to suppress free press still persisted. Citing the Supreme Court judgment in the Indian Express case, it demanded dismissal of the then Lt Governor of Delhi Jagmohan.

The party also reiterated its demand for dissolution of the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and for holding fresh elections. For the first time, the Janata Party accused two Congress governments of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu and also of attacks on civil liberties and human rights.

The political resolution said that the march to the 21st century had become a catch-word of the establishment in its "concerted drive to repudiate the entire heritage of the freedom movement."

The economic resolution adopted by the party charged the Government with following an elitist policy and said the present economic policy of the Government amounted to a total rejection of socialist approach and Gandhian perspective rooted in self-reliance, decentralisation and distributive justice.

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CSO: 4600/1124

INDIA

ANALYST REPORTS RAJIV INTERVIEW WITH NEWSWEEK

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct 1--The Indo-Pakistan cold war is not hotting up but it is generating enough discord between the two countries marring the prospects for better relations in the foreseeable future.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who has been cautioning the world about the consequences of Pakistan's nuclear ambitions, has spoken for the first time, on the eve of his current foreign trip, of the dangers of Islamabad acquiring a capability to wage chemical warfare.

Apart from drawing attention to the fact in an interview to one of the American newsmagazines, that Pakistan has been buying gas masks in very large numbers in Europe besides setting up a factory to produce them he has also said that some Arab countries have been financing its nuclear programme without naming them.

Multiplier effect: But what has been worrying Indian military experts is what is called the multiplier effect of the supply of new weapons systems by the U.S. to Pakistan which are now deployed along India's borders in several strategic sectors from Jammu and Kashmir through Punjab to Rajasthan. These include self-propelled 155mm artillery, anti-tank weaponry, combat vehicles, guided missiles, F-16 aircraft, helicopter gunships and radar systems.

For instance, the latest generation of U.S. helicopters equipped for anti-tank warfare has a hitting capacity of five to 10 tanks each, but if all the 20 helicopters that have been given to Pakistan are employed in a single operation they could easily immobilise or at least hold at bay an entire Indian tank brigade. The same sort of offensive-defensive capability is provided by the other equally sophisticated American weapon systems given to Pakistan for air, land and sea warfare.

It is this sharp increase in Pakistan's conventional striking power, combined with its efforts to make a nuclear bomb, backed by the latest bid to prepare for chemical warfare as well, that has been causing concern in Delhi, compelling Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to speak out repeatedly against this mounting threat from Pakistan.

U.S. Documents: The Prime Minister has also spoken of some U.S. documents captured by the Iranian authorities when the American embassy in Teheran was seized in November 1979, admitting that the F-16s which Pakistan was seeking to acquire were actually intended to be used against India and not Afghanistan. The U.S. Government has not openly questioned the veracity of this Indian charge, but it has made known privately that such a document could not have existed in the U.S. embassy in Teheran at the time it was seized by the Islamic fundamentalists of Iran, since the whole question of renewed American arms supplies to Pakistan arose only two months later after the Soviet military action in Afghanistan.

But in either case there is no need for any documentary evidence to prove that the American supplied F-16 aircraft are stationed at air bases that are much closer to India than Afghanistan. Moreover, the command and communications systems at these bases are operationally integrated with the air defence network set up by Pakistan along India's borders within striking distances of its forward positions.

Financial burdens: It is for this reason that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has been making frequent references to the mounting military threat from Pakistan, despite India's capacity to cope with this challenge. The fact that India can effectively deal with such a threat does not in his view mitigate the heavy financial burdens imposed on the country by diverting its limited resources from development to defence.

The Government of India has also been pointing out in the course of its diplomatic exchanges with other countries on the implications of this military build-up by Pakistan, that as many as 16 of its 19 Army divisions, including the two armoured divisions, remain more or less permanently on India's borders giving it an offensive capability in corps strength at least at two points in the event of another conflict. It is only the fear of massive Indian counter attacks at other places to contain such thrusts that continue to deter Pakistan from embarking on this adventurism.

Private talks: The Prime Minister has gone fully briefed on all these aspects to explain the political and strategic implications of the Pakistani threat in the course of his private talks with heads of other governments at the Commonwealth conference and the U.N. General Assembly's commemorative session.

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CSO: 4600/1129

INDIA

HINDU ANALYST DISCUSSES GANDHI TRIPS ABROAD

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy, from New Delhi]

[Text]

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, leaves tomorrow on his third major foreign tour, since he assumed office. Apart from a brief trip to Moscow to attend the funeral of the former Soviet President, Konstantin Chernenko, he paid his first official visit abroad to the Soviet Union to stress India's special relationship with it.

The second one was a State visit to the United States with which he combined side trips to Egypt, Algeria and France, besides a brief stop-over in Geneva to address the International Labour Organisation. The third one will take him to Britain, the Bahamas for the Commonwealth Conference, Cuba, New York for the commemorative session of the U.N. General Assembly and then the Netherlands for a day on his way back home.

The next important foreign visit of the Prime Minister will be to Japan at the end of November with a stop-over in Vietnam, besides a one-day trip to Muscat, the capital of Oman, a couple of weeks earlier to attend the 15th anniversary celebration of the Sultan Qaboos's accession to the throne to which many dignitaries from all over the world have been invited by the oil-rich Gulf State with which India has had traditionally very close relations. A lot of preparatory work is being done to ensure the success of the visit to Japan which ranks in importance only next to the trips he had made to the Soviet Union and the United States, because of the efforts under way to establish a mutually beneficial economic relationship with it.

A month after he became Prime Minister with his own mandate, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi made his debut in international diplomacy at the summit meeting he convened in Delhi in January last of the heads of Government of the six powers—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania—who made the five-continental appeal to the big powers for nuclear disarmament. He continued to articulate this theme in the various world capitals to mobilise international opinion—a crusade that he in-

tends to carry forward with greater vigour in his address to the U.N. General Assembly on the eve of the summit meeting in Geneva next month between the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, and the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan.

The one-day visit to Oman will give him an opportunity to meet the heads of other Gulf States—the rulers of Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, besides many senior leaders from the West. The Presidents of Pakistan and Bangladesh are also expected to attend these celebrations along with several top personalities from other Asian and African nations.

The Prime Minister will be rounding off his foreign trips during his first year in office with a visit to Dhaka in early December for the summit meeting on South Asian Regional Cooperation. He will have met before this year is out the Pakistan President four times, the Bangladesh President thrice, the King of Nepal twice, the President of Sri Lanka four times and the King of Bhutan thrice, including the brief meetings he had with some of them when they came to attend Indira Gandhi's funeral in Delhi.

All these contacts with the heads of so many countries within a span of one year can be rewarding experience for any Prime Minister, much more so for a young man who was catapulted into this position of great responsibility and challenge in the most tragic circumstances, when he was least prepared to shoulder this burden. His foremost task was to restore confidence abroad and rekindle the faith of the Indian people in their own destiny in the wake of the assassination of the former Prime Minister and upsurge of violence.



## Man with a mission

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has succeeded in less than a year in making a profound impression both at home and abroad as a man with a mission of his own who is determined to put this opportunity to good by facing the many challenges with courage and self-assurance. He has skilfully utilised his travels abroad and contacts with world leaders to impress all concerned with his technological vision of India's future. He has managed to dispel despondency on the home front and generate greater hope abroad in India's future by projecting himself as a modest and pragmatic young leader who is ready to learn the hard way through trial and error by experimenting with new ideas to open up new opportunities for the people.

Once again the world has started paying more attention to the positive aspects of India's great potentialities for development, instead of taking a negative look only at its monumental problems. The process of economic liberalisation that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has initiated has aroused great expectations abroad that India is throwing its doors open to greater foreign participation in its development, with all the attendant risks of an abrupt anti-climax if he is unable to clear up the bureaucratic cobwebs and streamline the cumbersome procedures to clear the way for quicker policy decisions. His visit to Tokyo will be a test case since the hard-headed Japanese are waiting to see how far he will go in offering them the necessary incentives for capital investment and technical cooperation.

## Requisite focus

A Prime Minister's foreign tours help to set the right tone and provide the requisite focus for discussing the country's needs at the highest level, but after the areas have been identified for increased cooperation the necessary agreements can be worked out only through painstaking follow-up discussions. The real work of consolidation of relations for opening up new opportunities has to be completed in the afterglow of the warm feelings generated by these State visits, before the goodwill starts fading out leaving behind only lingering memories of all the nice things said on such occasions.

The visits to Moscow and Washington by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi were essentially bilateral ones, although international issues came up for discussion, but his coming trips to Nassau and New York would be basically multilateral in the sense that he would be talking to the assembled leaders about world problems both at the Commonwealth Conference and the U.N. General Assembly session. In international diplomacy, there is a ritualistic element of rhetoric involving a certain amount of repetition of India's known views, but due care is taken even in articulating one's views with a degree of passion on issues like Namibia and South Africa, or disarmament and north-south dialogue, to ensure that it does not sour or strain bilateral relations.

## Deft balancing acts

At the Commonwealth Conference, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will speak bluntly about the equivocal attitudes of western powers like the U.S. and Britain on South Africa while calling for stricter sanctions. But American or Indo-British relations will be determined much more by what these two powers do impinging on India's national interests than their persisting differences over many international issues. It is the U.S. policy of arming Pakistan beyond the limits of Indian tolerance that foul Indo-American relations, just as the overly tolerant attitude of the British Government to Sikh extremist activities in the United Kingdom infuriated the Indian leadership both before and after Indira Gandhi's assassination.

There were second thoughts in Delhi at one stage over the wisdom of the Prime Minister paying an official visit to London on his way to Nassau in the absence of a clear and unequivocal condemnation of Sikh terrorism in Britain. The British Government realised the Indian sensitivities and made due amends by both condemning and curbing this extremism.

The U.S. too has been indulging in some deft balancing acts to keep the Pakistan factor within manageable limits, while seeking to establish a technological relationship with India to offset some of the damage done by the policy of arming Pakistan. It remains to be seen whether the U.S. offer of assistance to help India achieve a greater degree of self-reliance in its defence effort is going to restore the missing elements of mutual trust in Indo-American relations.

But what is interesting in this context is that a certain amount of perseverance in practising the art of the possible in the conduct of diplomacy, even without diluting one's policies or altering one's approaches, can make a dent in wearing down the angry responses and indignant attitudes of aggrieved nations. The British have been able to mollify India with a few well-meaning gestures and restore at least a part of the earlier warmth which has helped revive some of the defence deals that were in doldrums.

## Symbolic gestures

The Americans too have managed to isolate the nuclear factor in their relations with India, while holding the prospect of high technology transfers even for defence purposes. Despite sharp differences over many international issues, the Indo-American relations are much better today than at any other time in the last three decades. The U.S. President has been able to establish a good personal rapport with the Prime Minister with a few symbolic gestures by correctly sensing Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's mood and al-

laying his apprehensions, while holding out the prospect of increased American assistance in areas that are vital for India's defence and development.

An unfortunate impression prevails among some of the Third World countries that, amidst its excessive pre-occupation with domestic events and bilateral pursuits to improve relations with the two superpowers, India has not been devoting due attention to its role as current chairman of the non-aligned movement. It may be an unfair charge but the fact remains that some of the non-aligned countries continue to be critical of India's leadership because they themselves are not clear in their minds what exactly it should do to put greater content in the movement.

### **Expensive**

The Prime Minister will have an opportunity of meeting the leaders of many important non-aligned countries in New York during the U.N. General Assembly session and sharing his concerns with them over the continuing divisions within the movement and its inability to assert its collective influence more effectively on major issues affecting the future of mankind as the two superpowers and their allies are not prepared to get off the collision course.

For an organisation consisting mostly of impoverished nations, the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement is proving to be one of the most expensive propositions, since whichever country is chosen for this unique honour has to host a summit conference attended by over a hundred heads of government. It involves an expenditure of anywhere between \$100 millions and \$200 millions depending on the poverty or prosperity of the host country. And before he relinquishes the chairmanship of the movement next year, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi should do something to avoid the colossal expenditure on the non-aligned summits, of heads of government, mid-summit meetings of foreign ministers and the coordination bureau meetings at which more attention is devoted to hospitality than actual deliberations.

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INDIA

## REPORTER EXAMINES STATUS OF AERONAUTICAL INDUSTRY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 11, 12 Oct 85

[Article by L.K. Sharma]

[11 Oct 85 p 1]

[Text] **The Times of India News Service  
BANGALORE.**

**A**N India-developed light combat aircraft (LCA) exists only on the pages of a preliminary feasibility report but its vibrations can already be felt in the aeronautical establishment.

It is a viable aerospace industry rather than import of colour TV kits that can give a powerful thrust to the country's modernisation drive. Progress in the aeronautical industry will lead to accretion of high technology in fields covering computers, materials, metals and electronics with its natural impact on a wide spectrum of other industries.

Nurtured almost entirely by the defence services, technologically the Indian industry is still in the nascent stage. It has only sporadically tried to transit from licensed production to original designs, acquiring the valuable resource of expertise and infrastructural facilities.

### R&D INSPIRATION

Indigenous capabilities built up over the years have enabled India to confidently embark on the LCA project and pursue the state-of-art technologies required for it.

What the government has to ensure now is co-ordination and efficient management, with proper delegation of power and responsibility to the Aeronautics Development Agency (ADA) and to the project team leaders. Let the R and D personnel be not blamed for want of good managers. Higher level political support will be required to counter any campaign against this vital project.

The research and development establishment can draw inspiration from

past attempts to introduce India-designed aircraft even though development could not be sustained during the particularly sterile seventies.

Bangalore-based institutions, such as the Aeronautical Development Establishment, Gas Turbine Research Establishment (GTRE), National Aeronautical Laboratory (NAL) and the design bureau of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) have only to pool their resources to contribute to the success of the LCA project. The string of IITs, the IISc and other laboratories and the manufacturers of alloys, such as midhani, will, of course, provide additional support.

### LONG CYCLE

LCA, to be contemporary in the next decade, will require major advances in engine and airframe designing and the integration of modern avionics and armament. Engine development may take the longest, though long before the LCA project was sanctioned, the defence research and development organisation had started designing an engine suitable for the future fighter aircraft.

The aero-gas turbine technology involves long gestation activities and the development cycle can take 10 to 15 years. The Gas Turbine Research Establishment at Bangalore now has on its test bed a GTX engine, based on the "flat rating concept", which is the hallmark of high performance of all military aero-gas turbine engines currently under development.

Currently, the full development programme of GTX-14 U engine envisages building of 10 prototypes with a total development testing hours of over 3,000 hours on test beds. Some 50 hours of testing has been done.

The engine has to go through normally aspirated tests, high Mach number tests, altitude tests and

preliminary flight rating tests, which would qualify the engine for air-worthiness and subsequent production. GTRE is also working on a by-pass variant of the GTX engine for a demonstration of system concept and feasibility. The altitude tests would have to be done abroad.

The complex problems and elaborate testing schedule make it difficult to reduce the development cycle and the engine is expected to be delivered by 1993-94.

While the main thrust of R and D work in the establishment is confined to large axial flow gas turbine engines, GTRE has also embarked on research on centrifugal impellers and turbines of high pressure ratio, which would eventually find application in small gas turbine engines for remotely piloted aircraft.

#### ACCURACY OF DESIGN

One such R and D effort, related to centrifugal impeller turbine combination, has been successful and is finding application as a turbo-charger for increasing the power of the indigenous Main Battle Tank engine under development in another unit.

Being a complex mechanical engineering exercise, the gas turbine engine design warrants the use of a computer-aided design system to ensure the accuracy of design and evaluation of options in the shortest time possible. GTRE is constantly updating its design facilities.

GTRE interacts with several other research institutions and professional education institutions. For promoting the development of various metal, materials and metal forming technology, GTRE is collaborating with the defence metallurgical research laboratory and midhani, both in Hyderabad and the foundry and forge division of

HAL, Bangalore.

A major role in making the light combat aircraft a reality will be played by the Aeronautical Development Establishment (ADE), another unit in Bangalore of the defence research and development organisation.

The areas in which ADE has something to show for its efforts include targets, drones and remotely piloted airborne vehicles, air armament, flight simulation and flight research.

ADE takes the credit for developing a aerodynamically-controlled unmanned vehicle and is now looking forward to working on some other versions of the target aircraft, including a low-level flight version, which is of interest to the navy. The high-speed air launched target system has been successfully developed and evaluated by the Indian Air Force.

#### TRAINING SIMULATOR

The pilotless target aircraft project is a forerunner of more advanced unmanned vehicles. This vehicle has potential of several civil applications, such as aerial survey of agriculture and forestry, monitoring of crops and crop diseases, hydrological data gathering and cyclone studies.

Another successful development has been the training simulator for high performance fighter aircraft, which is being commissioned at an operational base. A simulator for a jet trainer aircraft will be commissioned at the air force training academy shortly.

A prototype head-up display system for the pilot, designed, developed and fabricated by ADE, has been flight-tested on a trainer and on a high performance combat aircraft. Further development effort has been initiated in the field of more advanced multi-function displays. ADE is involved in the development of electro-optical systems.

(To be concluded)

[Text]

**The Times of India News Service  
BANGALORE:**

**T**HE back-up of pure and applied research and foreign consultancy in selected areas can ensure the presence of a major Indian aircraft on the shop floor of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited which is accustomed to designs of the British, Soviet, French, U.S. and West German origins.

The light combat aircraft, planned to be inducted into service in the mid-90s, can bestir the giant public sector undertaking as no other project has done before. The aircraft has to have good survival characteristics and the most modern avionics utilising advanced concepts in aerodynamics, control systems and material technology. It will have beyond-visual range capabilities and the latest types of missiles.

The aeronautical industry must meet some civilian requirements also to be able to optimise the use of defence-related developments and increase the production volumes of components and materials. HAL does not enjoy this advantage. Tied to defence ministry, it has not been able to enter the civil aviation sector in a significant way.

HAL went through the past few years of stagnation in the absence of a major design challenge but its earlier record in indigenous development compares well with the public sector companies, for example one in the vital power sector which is still mostly committed to licensed production.

**JET TRAINER**

HAL has again started showing its wares at the international air shows where its trainer was received well. It is set to complete the development of an advanced jet trainer from the highly successful single-seat interceptor, Ajeet, in turn derived from Gnat MK I. It combines ease of maintenance with reliability and is less expensive than any comparable aircraft.

A new design project is for an advanced light helicopter which is to be introduced in service in the early 90s. The multi-role helicopter will use new materials and incorporate advanced technologies. Consultancy for design and development is being provided by MHB of West Germany.

Prominent among HAL-designed aircraft are HPT-32, a piston-engine

basic trainer advanced turbo-prop version, HPT-32 and Kiran MK II and intermediate jet trainer capable of carrying an impressive armament load.

An early development was the flight of India's first transonic aircraft, HF 24 Marut, which was designed and developed by HAL. It soon entered active service as an effective interceptor and ground attack aircraft. This was achieved even before the major expansion of HAL into a vertically integrated aeronautical complex.

As for other light aircraft, HAL has designed and manufactured the HT-2 primary trainer, Basant agricultural aircraft and Pushpak and Krishak for Flying Club and air observation duties, respectively. Currently, design activity is being focussed on a hang glider, a micro-light aircraft and a motorised glider.

**INDIGENISATION ACTIVITY**

Indigenisation activity in respect of aero-engines, mainly discussed in the first part of this report, covers the development of a small turbo-jet engine (350 kg. thrust) for pilotless target application. The demonstrator engine was first run in February last year and is now being put through its paces. It is expected to attain full rated power shortly. Initial assessment indicates that performance parameters closely match design specifications.

Indigenous designs also encompass 100 different kinds of hydraulic, pneumatic and air conditioning components, wheels and brakes, flight instruments, air data computers, servo mechanisms and electro-mechanical systems. HAL has also designed and developed ground support equipment such as alert trolleys and ground power units which are currently in service with the Indian Air Force. Emphasis is also being laid on import substitution of raw materials.

In the field of licensed manufacture, HAL has demonstrated short learning cycles with regard to deep penetration aircraft, front-line interceptors and helicopters.

A new project is for the licensed production of a light transport aircraft, Dornier 228. The assembly of the U.S. engine, Garrett, for this West German plane has just been started. The engines which are already being manufactured include R-25 for the MiG-21 under licence from the Soviet Union, Adour for the Jaguar under licence from Rolls Royce and Turbomeca and Artouros for Cheetah and Chetak helicopters of French origin.

HAL's avionics facilities, which are being further expanded, have brought out several items as a result of in-house development. The items manufactured in its accessories complex include state-of-the-art inertial navigation system. HAL was involved in the development of the display attack and inertial navigation system (DARIN) which is being fitted on Jaguars making them highly effective weapon systems.

HAL does what no aircraft manufacturer in the world does. It starts from the beginning. It produces almost all the accessories that go into the aircraft that it builds. It has an in-house precision casting and forging facility. This unit delivers precision investment castings, magnesium castings and vacuum investment castings made to stringent aeronautical standards.

HAL's forgings cover a wide range of aluminium and magnesium alloys and those based on steel, nickel, copper and titanium. That HAL's activity has to extend from the production of ordinary rivets to complex aero-engines and avionics is a sad reflection on the country's industrial base.

HAL is equipped to meet the special requirements of customers such as the Indian Space Research Organisation. It makes for the space launchers complex castings and forgings and has undertaken the production of gyro-based instruments and structural assemblies.

**EXPORT COVER ITEMS**

HAL's efforts in exports cover items which are being supplied to most of its licensors under buy-back arrangements. Some new buyers overseas have been identified for components which speak for its high standards of production.

To achieve total capability in air-borne defence is a goal that lies beyond the reach of all but a few countries. True, only the U.S., the U.K., the Soviet Union and France have achieved total aerospace independence.

But HAL is no longer just an overhaul workshop as it was during the second World War. It has rolled out in the intervening years 2,400 aircraft, ranging from simple trainers to advanced jets. With its manufacturing facilities spread across seven different locations and 40,000 highly trained and skilled workers, engineers and scientists, HAL must be made to ensure that India is able to keep up at least with Brazil, Argentina and Indonesia in the field of aeronautics.

INDIA

BRIEFS

INDO-HUNGARIAN SCIENTIFIC TREATY--New Delhi, October 11--India and Hungary today signed an agreement for increased cooperation in the fields of science and technology for the period 1985 to 1987. The agreement was signed by Prof. Yash Pal, secretary in the department of science and technology, and the Hungarian ambassador in India, Dr. Ference Turi. The visiting Hungarian deputy prime minister, Mr. Lajos Feluvedi, and the minister of state for science and technology, Mr. Shivraj Patil, were also present. Under the new agreement the areas where increased cooperation is envisaged are: energy, mining, telecommunications, fermentation technology, water management, aluminium, industrial research, transport infrastructure and bio-medical sciences. [Text]  
[Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Oct 85 p 9] /8309

CSO: 4600/1118



IRAN

POSSIBLE DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS WITH SYRIA REFLECTED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 24 Oct 85 p 20

[Text] Following the efforts of the Arab Reconciliation Committee, which has been assigned by the Arab Summit Conference to resolve the existing differences between various Arab countries, Iraqi and Syrian officials have agreed to sit down at negotiating tables in order to resolve their mutual border issues.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, which reported this news, has not given too many details or information about the content of this agreement; however, with regard to the relative success of the meeting of al-Kasm, Syrian prime minister and al-Rifa'i, the Jordanian prime minister, one can say that a meeting between the Iraqi and Syrian officials is quite certain. We can trace the roots of the present move by the Arab Summit Conference to the very beginning of the imposed war--where the Islamic Republic of Iran rose up against the bold aggression of the Ba'athist forces single-handedly. At that time, while touting the extensive support of some Arab countries by using the motto "Arabs against Persians," Saddam made every effort to fan the flames of a war between Iran and all its Arab neighbors of the southern region of the country, however, he failed in this effort. The reason being that Iran proved that the heroic defense of the nation against aggression does not have any roots in tribal race. One strong political incidence did very well in substantiating this claim--the presence of progressive Arab world alongside Iran--that was the substantiator of the claim that the war was devoid of any tribal or racial color. Initially, Syria, Libya, Algeria and South Yemen all had a clear stance in the war against Iraq. Such occurrences and the presence of these countries alongside Iran also helped to prove the anti-zionist posture of Iran, while all these Arab nations believed that the reasons for such savage aggression by Iraq against Iran revolved around a political and radical Islamic axis in the region.

On the opposite side of this movement, certain moves began to take shape by the adversaries of this union. The Arab Summit Conference had already laid the major foundation of these moves aimed at separating the Arab nations from Iran and changing the war into one of racial conflict with Iran.

At this juncture, Syria and Libya were the pioneers of such efforts since Algeria and South Yemen did not play too important a role on this scene, but it was Syria and Libya who from the very beginning took a much stronger position for the Islamic revolution of Iran.

Because of its vast common borders with Iraq, Syria was of particular significance in these occurrences. On the one hand, Syria stopped the flow of Iraqi oil through the pipelines which crossed its territory, and on the other by stationing new troops on the common borders of the two countries, it caused the disengagement of a portion of the Iraqi forces who were used to fighting on the battlefield against Iranian troops to be stationed on the border facing Syrian soldiers.

Politically, on a wide basis, with its extensive presence in international forums, Syria became a friend and supporter of Iran. In lieu of this support, Syria also gained certain privileges. In addition to the continuation of economic cooperations, Iran considered Iraq--one of the key enemies of Syria--particularly after the escape of Michel Aflagh to Iraq, which created quite an uproar and caused the disgrace and ignominious disrespect for the Ba'th ideology in the region, as weakened. The continuation of the holy defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran against Iraqi forces would practically inflict a blow against that regime and weaken the grip of the Iraqi Ba'th's wing which eventually would result in strengthening the Syrian Ba'th wing.

In the course of moves which were made against the solidarity and alliance of Syria and Iran, some Persian Gulf Cooperation Council member countries exerted a certain amount of pressure on Syria by reducing their economic assistance, and thereafter efforts were set in motion by the member countries of the Arab Summit Conference so as to disrupt this union. However, it should be noted that Syria always acted from an understanding and perceptive posture against all these disruptive occurrences. But, the Summit Conference sought to find a solution and its member countries undertook to take certain measures accordingly.

Iran and Syria cannot be positioned side by side strategically, but the Lebanese crisis and the conflicts of different factions which were pro-Iran or pro-Syria throughout various towns and regions of Lebanon could have provided a hopeful sign.

Syria is anxious to have a continuous presence in the political arena of the Arab world and thus any move which tends to deny Syria's presence in this arena can be a factor in exerting certain pressure on this country.

Prolonging of the Iran-Iraq war and its resulting convulsive effects in the region, with the withdrawal of Syrian support for Iran is entering a new phase. On the one hand, Iran receives certain helpful and accommodating support as regards securing its war needs from Syria while on the other, as a result of weakening or extenuation of the relations between Syria and Iran the closed pipelines of Iraq could be reopened and the Iraqi troops which are stationed at the common borders of these two countries will be free.

Of course this is not the end of all the hypothetical points. Yet, despite everything else certain efforts have been made to indicate other occurrences. Within a short period after the last session of the Arab summit, preparations have been made to bring Jordan and Syria close together. In fact Jordan has been playing the role of the laboratory mouse in order to gain an opportunity for baring its teeth to Syrian leaders.

Syria and Jordan used to have quite a stormy relations. However, this storminess of relations never reached the level of gloominess of relations between Iraq and Syria. Since the cloudiness of relations of these two nations had its roots in their profound ideological differences, yet as on the one hand Syria was immersed in the sweet dream of complete domination over Lebanon, it felt the need for a much stronger base among other Arab nations.

Incidentally, Riyadh became the center of many activities. Reconciliation of Jordan and Syria--which have on many occasions during a hot propaganda war cast aspersions on each other--was a positive step toward the goals of the above-mentioned committee which would be very effective in the future relations between Syria and Iraq. Of course it is too early to be able to pass a judgment on the future negotiations between the Syrian and Iraqi officials, yet any such agreement between the two nations would be considered as a focusing gesture in the Syrian politics.

Right now, at the threshold of these transformations, one can point to the fact that the expansion of relations between Syria and Iraq cannot certainly be beneficial to Syria, since as a result of this agreement Syria will lose one of its anti-zionist allies--Iran--and this will be under circumstances where separation or severance of friendship with the Islamic Republic cannot be too conducive or useful to that country. It is under such conditions that the future obscure relations between Iraq and Syria can have a substantial effect on the outcome of regional issues--an effect which cannot be without its consequences as far as the future negotiations of the leaders of the East and the West are concerned.

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CSO: 4640/73

IRAN

# UAE CONSIDERED 'SINCERE, FRIENDLY' STATE BY ISLAMIC REGIME

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 17 Oct 85 pp 2, 4

[Text] Political Service - Hojjat ol-Eslam Ha'eri Fumani, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the United Arab Emirates, participated in an interview with our correspondent yesterday afternoon and answered his questions. Following is the text of this interview.

Question: Please give us your opinion about the relations between the Islamic Republic and the UAE and the transformations which have taken place both before and after the revolution.

Answer: As you know, the country of UAE is composed of seven emirates each with its particular rulers and sheiks. This union or federation was formed in 1971, whereby a central government under the name of UAE came into existence. From the very beginning they've had good relations with Iran, and fortunately this country enjoys the leadership of a wise and sagacious ruler. His excellency, Mr Zayid bin Sultan Al Muhayyan is the president of the UAE and at the same time he is also the ruler of Abu Dhabi. Mr Rashid bin Sa'id Al Maktum is the prime minister who also acts as the ruler of Dubai. The relations between the UAE and the Islamic Republic have been good and friendly and since the beginning of the victory of the revolution this relationship has improved. To put it in a nutshell, I can say that we consider the UAE as a sincere and friendly neighboring country.

Our framework of cooperation and collaboration with the UAE encompasses various political and economic areas. I'll add here that there are a large number of Iranians who are residing in the UAE without any problem at all and the UAE is quite satisfied with them. We can say that the UAE can be a very good example for other countries of the region, particularly Kuwait. We can go so far as to tell Kuwait that it would be better off if it were to follow the example of the UAE. On the whole, we have good relations with the UAE and God willing it will improve for the better every day.

Question: Please explain the position of the UAE as regards its relations with us and its stance towards the war and Iraq.

Answer: As of the very start of the imposed war, the UAE has taken a neutral stance, while at the same time it has helped us in certain areas. For instance,

at a time when we were facing many hardships and problems they put their ports in Dubai and Sharjah at our disposal--at that time we were badly in need of new ports and this country gave us a good helping hand. After that they have always expressed their hope that the war will soon end. At the time when I went there as the ambassador of the Islamic Republic I explained our justified position and analyzed the savage posture of Saddam both to the ruler and responsible officials of the UAF and clearly explained that we are not war-mongers and that the war was imposed on us, therefore there existed a just and certain right for us and that we do not and will not forgo our rights as long as Saddam's regime is in place. I can say that among the Persian Gulf nations, within the framework of the imposed war, although the UAF is a member of the Gulf Cooperation Council, yet it has always acted in a rather prudent manner toward us and it has abstained from taking a position because it could possibly create a cloud in our mutual relations. Personally, as the ambassador of the Islamic Republic I'm very satisfied with our relations and hope that in the future we will witness closer ties between the two nations.

Question: At the present time, the main issue is the pernicious vices of Saddam in the Persian Gulf together with our threats for appropriate retaliatory measures. The main issue of interest for all the countries bordering the Persian Gulf is the security of the Gulf region and the continuation of the operations of the ports in a smooth manner. What if any is the position of the UAF regarding the security of the Persian Gulf and the pernicious vices of Saddam?

Answer: As of the very beginning of the war, under various pretexts Saddam has been trying to expand this war to other regions of the Persian Gulf. This has been and still continues to be his wilful and mischievous policy. We've always explained this stance to the Persian Gulf countries and explicitly pointed out that we've not been and will never be interested in expanding the war in the Persian Gulf--that as far far as possible we've tried to abstain from situations where there was a possibility for the expansion of this war and have been able to contain and prevent such circumstances. Of course we've been also saying that if the Persian Gulf countries themselves are interested in dragging the war to this sensitive and strategic region we in turn would not be able to help it either. Fortunately, the Persian Gulf countries have been able to understand the situation and keep away from any direct entanglement, especially the UAE abhors the very thought of the war and is not interested to see it expand to the other corner of the Gulf. This country (UAE) knows that it is our natural right to show a reaction. Our natural reaction was to defend our rights in the Persian Gulf and the Straits of Hormuz, thus we began to stop their (Iraqi's) ships, and as you know we did this from a position of power and strength and did not allow any ship which had some kind of weapons and other things that would help enhance Saddam's capability to pass through. Of course Persian Gulf countries became quite apprehensive and were afraid that the war is going to expand to other corners of the Gulf, however we assured them and announced that we are only at war with Iraq, although this did not mean that we would allow others to fortify and strengthen Saddam's position. Here I would like to add that



those countries which, like UAE, have remained neutral and which have not and will not help Saddam, can have our assurances that their ships can safely navigate the Persian Gulf waters.

Question: As regards foreign powers' intervention in the Persian Gulf in case of an expansion of the war--which is very much what Saddam wants and he has made quite some investment in it--what is the stance of the UAE?

Answer: When I talked about this matter with the responsible authorities of the UAE, even the rulers of the northern region who were quite acquainted with the situation and their own territorial significance, they all expressed a sense of uneasiness about foreign intervention in the Persian Gulf or in their country, for that matter. They firmly believe that the Persian Gulf belongs to the inhabitants of the region and they will not allow foreigners to interfere in their affairs. They emphasized that the countries of the region have the capability to defend themselves. And of course the Islamic Republic has announced that we can defend and protect the security of the Persian Gulf single-handedly. However, I have to add this point that this is a military principle, and it is the opinion of military experts that if some day a foreign power tries to interfere in the Persian Gulf affairs, it will have to face us who own over one-half of the Persian Gulf littoral regions or the other nations who own the other half of the Gulf who all hate to see any foreign intervention. Though the other half of the Gulf is composed of some countries who are not united, it would be much better if they work toward a united front and their stability and make sure that if a foreign power tries to interfere in their affairs it would certainly meet its deserved destiny--drown in the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Question: Regarding the same issue, recently one of the US Fast Intervention Forces commanders announced that if necessary they will make use of the Oman or Dubai bases. What is your opinion in this regard?

Answer: They proposed this issue as a joint maneuver in which the French, British and the US Fast Intervention Forces would take part. As far as I can remember, Dubai will never allow a foreign country's troops to set foot on its soil. I am not sure what Oman will do, but I'm positive that the UAE will never allow a foreign country to enter its territory.

Question: Recently, Mr Besharati, deputy foreign minister made a trip to the littoral countries of the Persian Gulf, where he presented the message of the president to the heads of the governments of these regions. Please tell us what the subject of this message was and what changes have come about as a result?

Answer: Of course after his return from the trip, Mr Besharati himself explained the existing issues in a press conference. I can say that Mr Besharati's visits with the high-ranking authorities of the UAE have been very fruitful. In the message of his excellency Mr Khamenei to the ruler of the UAE, which was



delivered by the deputy foreign minister, our final stance regarding the imposed war was clearly reflected.

Question: What is the position of the UAE regarding our new policy of inspecting the ships which navigate the Persian Gulf?

Answer: So far there has been no known posture by the UAE. Even though the newspapers grabbed the news from the news agencies and circulated it, yet it did not contain any detail concerning any particular stance of the UAE. The only thing they're afraid of is the spread of the war and we've assured them that if ever there is such an expansion or spread of the war they must know that it is what Saddam wants and that they should know this fact and try to prevent the spread of the war in the region.

Question: What's the stance of the UAE as regards our policy of inspecting the ships, defense or neutrality?

Answer: Nothing. They have a neutral position.

Question: Regarding our relations with the Persian Gulf countries and the improvement of our relationship together with the issue of security of the Persian Gulf and participation of all the nations of the region for the betterment of the situation, what are the solutions?

Answer: Of course this is an issue within the jurisdiction and competency of the Foreign Ministry which can propose a proper policy. However, as a personal opinion I would like to say that the only way for a firm and stable security in the Persian Gulf is the destruction of the aggressor. As long as there is a war and an aggressor in the region, surely we cannot pin our hope for a stable and secure Persian Gulf. Certainly, when the day comes that we become victorious with the help of the countries of the region who will find out for themselves that Saddam is the main cause of bloodshed, he is the person who for seven years has had nothing in mind except his own absolute rule and that in order to achieve that he will not hesitate to drag all the region's nations into the war, then they will realize that we have to work together in order to get rid of the aggressor. Most assuredly, that day will be the day when the stability and security for the region is restored. Of course there are certain plans to deal with each and every country according to their previous policies and tendencies. Here it would be better for me to mention that the final result of the war will be our victory--a righteous and just victory which we certainly deserve. Most probably after our victory in the war, various nations, particularly the countries of the region will line up in order to get closer to us. But what is important for us is today's friendship, which will form the basis of our tomorrow's friendship. Certainly, priority will be given to those who have shown sensitivity and understood our problems and kept close to us. It is based on this fact that we consider the UAE a sincere and friendly nation.

IRAN

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON ISLAMIC REGIME'S NEW MINISTERS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 24 Oct 85 pp 3-4

[Text] According to the parliamentary correspondent of ETTELA'AT, the names of 24 new cabinet ministers, which have been approved by the president, were presented to the Islamic Consultative Assembly by Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister in order to obtain the necessary vote of confidence of the representatives. At the outset, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani read the text of the prime minister's letter which was addressed to him as follows:

Greetings and best wishes: According to Article 133 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, herewith the attached list of the names of those brothers who have been considered for membership in the Council of Ministers and who have received the approval of the president, is forwarded to the Islamic Consultative Assembly for a vote of confidence.

Thereafter, the president of the parliament read the text of the letter of Engineer Musavi which was addressed to the president of the Islamic Republic and contained the names of the new cabinet ministers as follows:

Brother Hojjat ol-Eslam val Moslemin Seyyed Ali Khamenei, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

After extending my cordial greetings and best wishes, with reference to your letter number 1[5618] dated 20 October 1985 and with due regard to Article 133 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, after necessary negotiation and consultation, hereby a list of 24 brothers who have been selected for membership in the Council of Ministers is forwarded so that after your approval, they can be introduced to the Islamic Consultative Assembly for a vote of confidence.

- 1- Ministry of Education and Training - Brother Seyyed Kazem Akrami
- 2- Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Brother Dr Ali Akbar Velayati
- 3- Ministry of Islamic Guidance - Brother Hojjat ol-Eslam Dr Seyyed Mohammad Khatami
- 4- Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance - Brother Dr Hoseyn Namazi

- 5- Ministry of Information and Security - Brother Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Mohammadi-Reyshahri
- 6- Ministry of Commerce - Brother Hasan Abedi-Jafari
- 7- Ministry of Plan and Budget - Brother Mas'ud Rowghani Zanjani
- 8- Ministry of Health, Treatment and Medical Training - Brother Dr Ali Reza Marandi
- 9- Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone - Brother Engineer Mohammad Charazi
- 10- Ministry of Construction Jihad - Brother Engineer Bizhan Namdar-Zangeneh
- 11- Ministry of Justice - Brother Dr Hasan Habibi
- 12- Ministry of Defense - Brother Colonel Mohammad Hoseyn Jalali
- 13- Ministry of Roads and Transport - Brother Mohammad Saidi Kia
- 14- Ministry of the Revolution Guards Corps(same as Ministry of the Revolutionary Guards) - Brother Mohsen Rafiq-Dust
- 15- Ministry of Industries - Brother Engineer Qolam Reza Shafei
- 16- Ministry of Heavy Industries - Brother Engineer Behzad Nabavi
- 17- Ministry of Culture and Higher Education - Brother Dr Mohammad Farhadi
- 18- Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs - Brother Abol Qasem Sarhadizadeh
- 19- Ministry of Agriculture - Brother Dr Abas Ali Zali
- 20- Ministry of Interior - Brother Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Ali Akbar Mohtashami
- 21- Ministry of Housing and Urban Development - Brother Engineer Seraj-ed-Din Kazeruni
- 22- Ministry of Mines and Metals - Brother Engineer Hoseyn Nili
- 23- Ministry of Petroleum - Brother Engineer Gholam-Reza Aqazadeh
- 24- Ministry of Energy - Brother Dr Mohammad Taqi Banki

Sgd: Mir Hoseyn Musavi, prime minister  
October 30, 1985

After reading the prime minister's letter, the president of the parliament read the answer of Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamenei as follows:

In the name of God: We hereby approve the abovementioned candidates.

Sgd: Seyyed Ali Khamenei  
October 31, 1985

Thereafter, the president of the parliament explained that on Sunday and Monday of next week, the Islamic Consultative Assembly will conduct pertinent discussion and investigation regarding the request for a vote of confidence for the new ministers of the cabinet.

#### Biography of the Ministers of the New Cabinet

##### Minister of Construction Jihad:

Brother Bizhan Namdar-Zangeneh was born in 1331 [21 March 1952 - 20 March 1953] in the city of Bakhtaran and finished his secondary education in Tehran. Thereafter, he entered the Technical College of Tehran University. In 1977 he attained a Master's degree in civil engineering, with distinction.

During his academic years he participated in political and religious activities and while he believed in scholastic or academic argumentation, he never approved of cooperation with the leftist elements, nor did he ever show any inclination toward deviationary groups whose true intent and nature was not quite clear.

During the height of the Islamic revolution, brother Zangeneh took part in the struggles and on the order of the imam, for reasons of necessity, he quit his military service.

After the advent of the victory of the Islamic revolution, he began his career as a member of the Scientific Council of the University. While he was engaged in teaching he cooperated with the Reconstruction Crusade in the educational and executive areas. With the inception of the great cultural movement at the beginning of 1980 he actively participated in the movement for a while and thereafter went to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and as the deputy of Cultural Affairs Department he took part in the principal activities of that ministry, which had an effective role in banishing the liberal and compromising elements.

Until November 21, 1982 he served in that position, till at the invitation of our brothers in the Construction Jihad and with an order from the prime minister, he became a member of the central committee of this organization. During this period he has contributed praiseworthy services to the oppressed rural inhabitants of the country and he has made very effective and capable efforts in enacting organizational principles and an executive system for the Construction Jihad.

#### Minister of Plan and Budget:

Mas'ud Rowghani Zanjani was born in 1332 [21 March 1953 - 20 March 1954]. He has a Master's degree in economy.

Occupational Background: Member of the Scientific Council of the Alameh Talestani University, deputy director of Social Affairs Department of the Ministry of Plan and Budget, prime minister's substitute at the Plan and Budget Ministry.

#### Minister of Commerce:

After finishing his secondary education, brother Hasan Aboli-Safari continued his education in the area of commercial management, since he was one of the top-ranking students in this field of study, he took advantage of a scholarship and went to the United States and continued his education in the same field. Contemporaneously, with his extensive participation in the struggles of other Iranian Muslims who were trying to bring down the former traitorous regime, he traveled to Paris and joined the followers of the imam of the nation.

After the victory of the Islamic revolution, he was one of the first people who joined the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and became a member of the Command Council of the Corps and took charge of the personnel department of that organ.

After the formation of brother Rajai's government, he became a candidate for the post of the minister of commerce, however as a result of the opposition of the traitorous Bani Sadre, he was obliged to remain in his capacity as the internal deputy director of the Ministry of Commerce. Subsequently, he left this ministry and returned to the Guards Corps. Since that time he has been serving in the political-ideological department of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps.

#### Minister of Labor and Social Affairs:

Brother Abol Qasem Sarhadizadeh was born in Tehran in 1324 [21 March 1945 - 20 March 1946]. Before the completion of his secondary school education, at his own discretion and scholastic perception, he became a member of the Party of the Islamic Nations which believed in the creation of an Islamic government through an armed struggle.

He was active in the Islamic uprising of June 5, 1963. In 1965, together with some of his friends who were engaged in armed conflicts in the northern mountains of Tehran, he was arrested by SAVAK hunters and was transferred to the torture chambers of the savage Pahlavi regime. At the military court, he was sentenced first to death, then his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Until the victory of the Islamic revolution he served 14 years in various prisons of Evin, Qasr and Komiteh with a complete reliance on the power of Allah.

and said: "The way which befits a true follower of Islam. He always emphasized his utterance on Islamic issues and he was active in the struggle against leftist abroad and hypocrites."

At the beginning of the victory of the Islamic revolution he was freed by the new-born and the-seem Muslim nation of Iran and joined the line of the struggle. Thereafter, he became one of the first people who laid the foundation of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps. For a short period he served in the revolution for the Oppressed and after the martyrdom of Mr. Iraqi, he became a member of the Prisons' Supervision Council.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF INDUSTRIES:

Brother Shafai was born in 1338 [21 March 1951 - 29 March 1952] in the town of "Mashad". He finished his primary school years in this town and stayed there until 1415th grade of secondary school. The new minister of industries attained his high school diploma in Tehran; thereafter, in order to continue his higher education, he entered Sharif Industrial University.

Brother Shafai attained a degree in mechanical engineering in 1975. During the period when he was a student at the above-stated university he became a member of the Islamic Society of Sharif's University and thereafter he attained membership in the Graduate Islamic Society of the said university.

As a result of his interests and religious connections, Shafai was arrested in 1976 and was imprisoned and tortured on many occasions by SAVAK agents. At the beginning of the revolution he was side by side with martyr Mofateh and after the victory of the Islamic revolution, he acted as a substitute for martyr Mofateh in the Juybar District Komitah where he had a very active and fruitful job.

Later, brother Shafai began his work in the lime and asbestos materials division of the Steel Mills. Thereafter he served his military service and after completion of his service, he joined the work force at Pars factory. From that time until 1 October 1981 he had worked in various organs of the Islamic revolution serving the Muslim nation. As of the latter part of October 1981 he became a member of the Council of National Iranian Industries Organization and assumed the position of the alternate director. In the month of January of the same year he became the executive director and deputy minister of industries.

From January 1981 until now, Brother Shafai has served in the post of deputy director of Non-Ferrous Metals Department of the Ministry of Mines and Metals and Chairman of the board of directors of the National Iranian Copper Company.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF MINES AND METALS:

Mr. Hosayn Naji Abadabadi was born on 17 September 1936 in Esfahan to a religious family. He went to school and worked at the same time in order to help



support his family. By attending night schools he finished his secondary school education in mathematics and received his high school diploma in 1960.

He began his military service in 1961 as a literary corps member and spent 18 months in one of the villages of Kurdistan where he finished his military service. In 1970 he took the university entrance examination and began his studies in chemistry at Shiraz University. During the 1970s he changed his course of study to electrical engineering and continued his education until 1975. He was an active member of the Islamic Society during his student years at the university.

Finally, in October 1976 he got employment with the Esfahan Steel Mills and began his work in the design department of the said factory in the area of design of electrical equipment. After the victory of the Islamic revolution and immediately after the announcement of the formation of the Islamic Consultative Assembly he showed much interest in the said organization and became a member of the party's local affiliate. After the changes which took place in the industrial department of the Steel Mills, he began to work in a new technical management section. Thereafter, he went to the province of Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari and formed the Center for the Expansion of Production Services. In May 1981 he was appointed deputy political and administrative director of the governor's office of the said province. Thereafter, in October 1981, at the invitation of the executive director of the National Steel Mills and with the recommendation of the brethren from the Islamic Societies, he was appointed chairman of the Esfahan Steel Mills and subsequently he became minister of oil and metals in the cabinet of Engineer Musavi.

#### Minister of Energy:

Dr Mohammad Taqi Banki was born in Isfahan in 1325 [21 March 1946 - 30 March 1947]; after completing his primary and secondary education, he went to the Technical College. In 1968 he acquired a Master's degree in the field of civil engineering. He went to the United States in 1971 and after completing his studies at University of Houston he obtained a doctorate degree.

During his stay in the United States (1971-75) he was one of the active members of the Iranian students and during this period for the purpose of writing religious speeches and cooperating with the strugglers who were residing abroad he made several trips to various European countries. During the early period of the victory of the Islamic revolution he was one of the active persons who participated in purging the employees of the satanic regime in the Iranian embassies in Washington and Canada. Furthermore, he was directly responsible for determining the fate of the companies which were affiliated with the Ahl-e Sunnat [former Pahlavi] Foundation in the United States. After returning to Iran in 1979 he was appointed as the deputy director of the Center for Mental Development of Children and Adolescents and remained at that position until September of 1980.

He cooperated with the consultative minister for executive affairs in the cabinet of the late brother Kajari and as of January of the same year he became active in organizing and enacting the budget of 1350 [21 March 1981 - 20 March 1982]. Moreover, as representative of the government, he took part in the Economic Commission of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and thereafter he was appointed deputy minister of the Plan and Budget Organization and subsequently was promoted to the office of minister of plan and budget. Later he joined the Foundation for the Oppressed and as the alternate head of that foundation he succeeded in rendering certain services to that organization.

#### Minister of Agriculture:

Mr. Akbar Ali Zali was born on 20 March 1938 in the hamlet of Tikin in one of the rural districts of Golpayegan. After completing his primary and secondary education he obtained a diploma from the Primary School Teacher Training College and acquired a bachelor's degree in agriculture from Tehran Agricultural College in 1964. Thereafter, in 1968 he received a Master's degree in agriculture from the Davis University in California and in 1971 he secured a PhD in genetic agriculture from the same university. Before the victory of the revolution he served as a teacher in the Dahi village in the rural district of Golpayegan of Esfahan and later he became employed as a technical employee with the Tehran Agricultural College, and went on to serve as an associate professor and professor in Tehran University.

After the victory of the revolution, he became active in the following fields: representative of the relevant college in the Islamic Revolution Committee of social ownership, cooperating with the Central Construction Jihad during its establishment period, creation of a branch office of Construction Jihad in Karaj, working in various other positions such as deputy director of Forests and Meadows of Provinces' Affairs Research Department, various Majlis-related affairs and planning and programming.

Furthermore, since January 1979 he has been serving in the post of alternate minister of agriculture.

Here it should be mentioned that continuation of his education abroad was possible because of a special scholarship which is granted to top-ranking students. In 1961 he began teaching in the Karaj Agricultural College, Economic Management College and the Higher Statistics Institute in varied areas such as plant improvement, statistics and related statistics. Part of his research encompassed wheat-soil improvement, plant genetics, crop-seeds and sunflower-seed improvement of which several articles have appeared in various domestic and foreign magazines.

#### Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance:

Dr. Mojtaba Aghaali was born in Shiraz in 1323 [21 March 1944 - 20 March 1945].

He finished his primary and secondary education in Shiraz. In order to continue his education he went to Austria in 1964. After receiving his bachelor's and master's degrees in economics from the Leopold Franz University he succeeded in obtaining his PhD from the said university in the aforementioned field.

During his stay and student years in Austria he was one of the effective members of the Islamic Societies in Europe. After the conclusion of his academic studies, Dr Namazi had an active role in cooperating and coordinating the affairs of the Islamic Center in Hamburg for one and a half years.

He returned to Iran in 1975 and began to teach economics at the Al-Zahra University where he was bothered by SAVAK several times. In the years 1976-79 he took part in the scientific sessions which were held on Islamic and economic issues by Ayatollah Professor Martyr Motahari and martyr Dr Ayatollah Beheshti. After the formation of the Islamic Society of Universities, both before and after the victory of the revolution he became a member of the board of directors of the said society.

At the end of 1357 [March 1979], after the victory of the Islamic revolution, he was appointed as the president of the Al-Zahra University and served in that position for two years.

#### Minister of Revolutionary Guards

(or Minister of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps):

Mohsen Rafiq-Dast was born in 1319 [21 March 1940 - 20 March 1941]. He was a member of popular fronts and a student of martyr Beheshti. As a result of his connection with martyr Andarjgu he was arrested in 1976 and was released in 1978.

He is one the first individuals who officially became a member of the Guardian Corps and from the very beginning he had a significant role in the creation and direction of this great organ. He helped to organize the necessary preparations in the struggle and was against domestic counterrevolutionaries. He has had major roles in the defense mechanism of the Guardian Corps at the battlefronts.

#### Minister of Islamic Guidance:

Hajjat ol-Islam Mohammad Khatami after Hajjat ol-Islam Shabestari became the supervisor of the Islamic Center in Hamburg, West Germany.

During his sojourn in Hamburg he engaged in propaganda and guidance matters and through various conferences on Islamism on a worldwide basis he began to introduce the Islamic philosophy and teachings to other nations. He had close cooperation with Muslim students in Europe.

In the first period of the Islamic Consultative Assembly he was sent to Malles as a representative of the people of Ardekan and at the same time, on the order of the Imam of the nation, he became the supervisor of the KETIRAN institution.

Following the formation of the Engineer Musavi's cabinet, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khatami was elected as the minister of Guidance.

#### Minister of Heavy Industries:

Mr Behzad Nabavi was born in 1321 [21 March 1942 - 20 March 1943]. He completed his primary, secondary and higher education in Tehran and in 1965 he received a degree in electronic engineering from Tehran Polytechnic College. As a result of his past struggles against the satanic regime until the downfall of that government he was not allowed to work in the governmental institutions or travel abroad. Until 1972 he worked in various electronic and communications companies.

In 1960 he became a member of the second National Front and subsequently became active in the Islamic Students' Society of Polytechnic. He was again arrested in 1961 as a result of his political activities. In 1963 he played a very active role in the formation of the third National Front. In 1965, together with other individuals he became active in underground political activities. In 1966 together with three other persons he formed an armed underground group and in 1967 was sought by SAVAK and went into hiding. In August 1972 he was detained in his safe-house on Qaleh-Morghi Avenue in Tehran and spent six and half years in various detention centers of SAVAK and police prisons. At the height of the revolution in November of 1978 he was freed from prison.

During his imprisonment and the years thereafter he was active in the formation of various Muslim groups and on February 11, 1979, with the cooperation of other responsible brothers, he became active in the Central Islamic Revolution Committee and was a member of the Central Committee Council until the fall of 1979. In December 1979 he became a member of the Supervisory Council of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic and served in that capacity until March 1980.

Thereafter, he joined the cabinet of martyr Rajai and as a consultative minister he had a major role in the planning of quota allocation of principal goods. He was the spokesman of martyr Rajai's government.

He became minister of heavy industries in the cabinet of Engineer Musavi, and has been serving in that capacity ever since.

#### Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Mr Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran was born in 1324 [21 March 1945 - 20 March 1946] in Rostamabad area of Shemiran district [Tehran]. He completed his primary and secondary education in Bahram, Nader-Afshar and Jam schools of Dolhak [Tehran].

He joined the National Front in 1961 and in 1963 became active in underground political and ideological activities and continued his struggles along the line of the Imam until the victory of the revolution. He had an effective role in founding the Islamic Society of the Medical College.

Velayati graduated from the Medical College of Tehran University in 1971 and in 1974 he obtained a specialist degree in pediatrics. In 1976, Dr Velayati became a member of the Students' Islamic Society in the United States and in the same year he received a post-graduate degree in infectious diseases from that country.

He was accepted as a member of the board of directors of the doctors of the Islamic Society in 1978 and has had significant roles in the establishment of health treatment and auxiliary centers together with the cooperation of other doctors and clinics.

In 1979 Dr Velayati became a member of the scientific council of the College of Hygienic Science and in the same year he also accepted the deputyship of the Ministry of Health and Hygiene.

Dr Velayati is a member of the Society of Doctors of the Islamic Republic Party. In the first round of Majlis elections Dr Velayati was elected as a representative of the people of Tehran in the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Thereafter, he was appointed as the Tordian minister.

#### Minister of Information:

Hajjat ol-Islam Kashiabadi completed his education in Qom. In 1344 (1965-66) he was detained in Mashhad on charges of distributing statements against the Shah's regime on records the execution of revolutionary traitor Mansoor. He went to Najaf (Iraq) in 1966 and continued his studies at the theological center of Najaf for 18 months.

He returned to Iran in 1968 and spent about one and a half years continuing his education in the theological center of Mashhad. It was during this period that once more he was arrested and put in prison for three months. In 1969 he returned to Qom and until the victory of the revolution he was engaged in teaching and continuing his own studies.

After the victory of the revolution he was one of the judges who went to various provinces in order to carry on the trial of the adamant followers of the former regime. He served in the Islamic revolution courts of Isfahan, Gachsaran, Bahabadan, Qorramabad, Serjerd and Rasht from February 1979 to November 1980. In 1980 on the basis of a single article which had been sanctioned by the Revolution Council, he reorganized the Islamic revolution lower and higher courts of the armed forces.



Among his works we can name Mizanul-Hikmah (Court Rules) in 10 volumes, An Introduction to God's Recognition, Justice in the World Perception of Monotheism, Perpetuity of the Islamic Revolution and Martyrdom in Nahj-ul-Balagh (writings of the first imam), Debates on God, An Introduction to Ideological Discussions, Some Regulations from the Islamic Judicial System and so forth.

Consequently, he entered the cabinet after the formation of the Information Ministry as the First Minister of Information of the Islamic Republic.

#### Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone:

Seyyed Mohammad Ansari, auxiliary for the Ministry of Post and Telegraph was born to a religious family in Esfahan in 1328 [21 March 1941 - 20 March 1997]. After completing primary and secondary education in 1961, he entered Tehran's Technical College and received his master's degree in electronics.

After the completion of his education he was employed by the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph and from 1967-70 he was sent to France by the said ministry in order to study special courses in transmission and distribution of electrical energy and gas turbines.

He began his struggles from 1965, along with the righteous struggle of the masses and consequently in late 1970 as a result of his participation in some of the programs of the former regime, he was imprisoned.

He began a clandestine life in 1973 and because of the unbearable atmosphere which was created by the former regime and the assistance of sympathizers and blasphemers, he left the country in 1976 to go abroad and continued his struggle against the regime from outside. For some time in the holy city of Najaf together with some religious clerics and the martyr Ansari he became familiar with the struggles of his Arab brothers and for a while he entered a new stage of struggle together with the Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese against Zionism. Thereafter, from the time of the Imam's departure to Paris and his return to Iran he was with him and continued his activities.

After the victory of the revolution he played an active role in the formation of the militia corps and participated in the flight of revolutionary forces with the counterrevolutionaries in Kermanshah. He took charge of the Imam's Development Office in that province and subsequently was elected as the deputy governor of Kermanshah.

Thereafter, for a while he continued his activities in the Imam's office in Qom and in 1980 he was appointed as the governor of Kermanshah. With the start of the imposed war (September 1980) he had a sensitive role in supplying and supplying the war fronts' procurements and in resolving the problems of that province.



He is familiar with French, Arabic and English and in the previous cabinet he was active as the petroleum minister. In the present cabinet he has been charged to run the Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone.

#### Minister of Justice:

Dr Hasan Rahibi has a PhD in sociology and law from Sorbonne University in Paris. From the very beginning of the victory of the revolution he has had various positions including: member and spokesman of the Revolution Council, minister of culture and higher education, member of the Supreme Council of Education and Training, representative of the imam in the Cultural Revolution Headquarters and representative of the people in the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Some of his translated works include: Foundation of Sociology, Polemic Excesses and Sociology, Social Constraints and Freedom, The Two Springheads of Ethics and Religion, Tripartite and Theoretical Ethics, The Quran and the Science, Division of Social Work, Islam and the Muslims in the USSR, God, War, and Art, Ahsanul-Jihad (concerning the struggles of the Algerian nation) and so forth. In the previous cabinet, Dr Rahibi also had the portfolio of the minister of justice.

#### Minister of Roads and Transport:

Brother Mohammad Saidi Kia was born in Isfahan in 1325 [21 March 1946 - 20 March 1947]. He graduated from the Science and Industries College with a master's degree in 1969. Before the advent of the revolution, he worked in various developmental workshops. On the order of martyr Kalantari in 1980 he was appointed as the supervisor of the Railroad Administration of Hormozgan and subsequently in 1981 he became alternate deputy director of the Office of Coordination of Roads Construction and Affairs of Provinces in the Ministry of Roads. In 1982 he began work in the organization of the Railroad Construction Jihad and his last position was deputy director of the Islamic Republic of Iran's National Removation Administration.

#### Minister of Housing and Urban Development:

Seraf-ed-Din Karamtaji was born to a religious family in Isfahan in 1325 [21 March 1946 - 20 March 1947]. He lost his father at the age of one. He completed his primary and secondary education in Isfahan at the Hakim Sana'i School. During these years he became familiar with the Islamic duties either by attending the religious sessions which were held in the Abbasabad mosque in Isfahan or other similar meetings which were held at their home by his brother.

He entered Abas Agricultural College in 1965 and became a member of the Islamic Society of that college and in the same year laid the foundation of the library of the Islamic Society with the help of another brother.

In 1967 he enrolled in the Architectural College of Tehran University and during his academic years there was in contact with his Muslim brothers in that college.

After the completion of his education in 1973, he went to serve his military service and after completing his service, he researched and studied Iranian tribes and nomads for two years. In 1976 after presentation of his thesis "Problems and Issues of Iranian Tribes" he obtained a master's degree in architecture.

He started his career in April of 1979 as the technical consultant to the Mayor of Esfahan and subsequently he was appointed as the technical deputy of the same office.

In the meantime, he was also active in the initial stages of the Construction Jihad of the provinces of Chahar Mahall va Bakhtiari and Kohgiluyeh va Boyer-Ahmad.

In March of 1980 he was appointed as the deputy director of development of Chahar Mahall va Bakhtiari Province. With the start of the imposed war, as the official in charge of the support headquarters of the imposed war on behalf of the Construction Jihad of Esfahan together with a group of co-workers, he went first to Abadan and then Kharramshahr and on the day that Kharramshahr fell, he was wounded and transferred to Tehran.

After six months once more he returned to Chahar Mahall va Bakhtiari and in September of 1981 he was appointed as the deputy director of local affairs and urban development of the Ministry of Lands. Meanwhile, he was also in charge of the State planning Division, Joint Funds of Municipalities and Renovation and Reconstruction Headquarters of War-afflicted areas.

Finally, he was in charge of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development.

#### Minister of Health:

Dr. Ali Reza Barandji, Minister of Health was born in 1318 (21 March 1939 - 20 March 1997) in Esfahan. He completed his primary and secondary education in Esfahan and thereafter went to Tehran University and received his Doctor of Medicine (M.D.) from the Medical College of Tehran University. From 1966 until 1971 he studied at the University of Richmond in the United States and succeeded in obtaining scholarships in pediatrics and newborn speciality areas.

The new minister of health in addition to his activities in various struggles in the years 1983 until 1997 and therefore, was a member of the Islamic Society of Tehran University, and secretary of the Society of Islamic Iranian Doctors residing in Canada and the United States. He was once arrested and imprisoned.

for three months on charges of anti-regime activities. Dr Ali Reza Marandi became a member of the Islamic Republic Party in 1982. From May 1971 until the end of his stay in the United States he was director of the pediatrics and child care departments of Miami and Miami Valley hospitals in the city of Daytona and at the same time he taught in the Reinhardt University in various capacities as instructor, associate professor and later on as a professor.

Since the victory of the revolution, the minister of health has served in various capacities such as supervisor of the Children's Association, alternate and deputy minister of health, director of the Pediatrics Department at Aya-tollah Taleqani Hospital and as a member of the medical branch of the Cultural Revolution Headquarters. Other activities and works of Dr Marandi since the start of the revolution include: health and hygienic compilations for teacher training courses, compiling a book on health matters to be used in the theological school of Qom, performance of duties and services in the Mostafa Khomeyni Hospital and cooperation with the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic in order to prepare health-related programs. He is married and has three children. He was also in charge of the Ministry of Health in the previous cabinet.

#### Minister of Education and Training:

Mr Sayyed Kazem Akrami was born in 1319 [21 March 1940 - 20 March 1941] in Hamadan. He continued his primary and secondary education in the same city and received his high school diploma in 1959. In 1964 after obtaining his bachelor's degree in psychology from Tehran's Teacher Training Institute, he returned to Hamadan and was employed by the Education and Training Department.

From the very beginning of his career as best as he could, he held sessions for the recitation of Qoran and enunciation of Islamic teachings.

In 1967 Mr Akrami once more returned to Tehran and enrolled in the master's program for guidance and consultation. After two years he returned to Hamadan where he began his new job as consultant for the schools in Hamadan. In the meantime, by teaching Islamic precepts, consultation, guidance and writing two theses on the above-stated subjects, he acquainted a number of the teachers with Islamic issues.

During the same period he studied with the scholars of the city of Hamadan and learned the finer points of philosophy and Islamic doctrine. As a result of his Islamic activities, he was arrested in 1972 and after three months he was freed. Once more in 1973 he was imprisoned and was finally released in 1977.

Before the revolution, Mr Akrami worked in two factories as an accountant and as a writer and after the advent of the revolution, as a member of the Council of Experts side by side with martyr ayatollah Madani, he was elected from

Hamadan Province to serve on that council. After he returned to Hamadan, he was the principal of the Teachers' Training College and thereafter for a period of one and a half years, he was in charge of the General Education and Training Department of that city. He was elected as the representative to the Islamic Consultative Assembly in 1981 and in mid-June of the current year once again he was put in charge of the General Education and Training Department of Hamadan. He was also minister of education and training in the previous cabinet.

12719

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IRAN

# CONDITIONS FOR CONTINUATION OF STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 Sep 85 pp 23, 2

[Text]

The criteria governing the use of study missions by the educational cadres was officially communicated through a circular by the minister of education to the provincial general departments of education.

The following is the text of the circular:

1. Employees of the permanent instructional cadres of the Ministry of Education who have been accepted to continue their studies in the higher educational institutions in the fields of study needed by the ministry, should commit themselves to work after they finish their studies for a period three times the length of the study mission in one of the country's deprived areas as determined by the Ministry of Education, and that they should agree to teach 12 hours a week during the period of study mission at the level of guidance or middle and high school (general, vocational, and technical).

Note 1: Change of employment status and use of the benefits and privileges accruing from the study mission and the diploma thus acquired by the employees will depend on their service in the deprived areas of the country. Their educational diplomas will be given to them only after they have performed their commitments regarding teaching the deprived areas of the country.

Note 2: The education and training departments may exceptionally for the school years [21 March 1985-20 March 1986 to 21 March 1986-20 March 1987] 1364-1365 decrease from two years to one year the period of provisional employment of the educational and administrative personnel who have finished at least one year of their provisional employment by 23 September 1985, provided that they have been accepted by the universities and institutions of higher education in one of the fields needed by the Ministry, so that they may take advantage of the privileges of study missions, depending on whether their situation accords with the provisions of sections one and two of the circular and their final employment status could accordingly be finalized.

Note 3: The general education and training department of the province where destination university is located, while taking into account the field study of these individuals will also determine the place where they shall teach. Similarly, when the education and training department of origin where they are currently working is faced with a shortage of manpower, the 12-hour weekly teaching assignment, may with the student's agreement, be carried out.

Note 4: In case of need, the students assigned to study missions may, in place of 12-hour weekly teaching assignments, work at various administrative positions for two days a week.

2. Permanent administrative personnel who have been accepted in one of the administrative or teaching fields and who wish to follow a teaching career during the school year or thereafter, may take advantage of the study mission provided that they submit a notarized written statement of commitment, and that they undertake to perform 12 hours of weekly teaching in accordance with section one. In this case, if such individuals have been originally employed in the administrative cadre, it is initially necessary to take measures to convert their status to un-numbered teaching slots in the educational units. For this purpose, their requests should be forwarded to the selection units of the provincial departments so that such units may speedily rule on their qualification for teaching. Needless to say that if while they are studying their teaching qualification is not confirmed their study mission will be rescinded; however, they may continue their studies by using leave without pay.

Certainly, necessary measures will be taken to compensate the balance of the study mission salary of these individuals, minus the difference of the equivalent hours of their teaching assignment.

3. Graduates of teacher training centers (who have service commitments) may avail themselves of the benefits of study mission, provided that they have accomplished at least three years of their service commitment and that they have been accepted in one of the needed areas in one of the continuous (BA) or interrupted (AA to BA) programs for specialist courses of study.

Needless to say that after graduation they must finish the remainder of their service commitment in addition to the commitments stipulated in the study mission.

4. Study missions are not assigned to administrative and instructional personnel or contractual employees who until 23 September of the current year have less than one year of provisional service. These cadres may, with the approval of the general department of education and training of origin and destination, be transferred to the department of education of the study destination mission, where they may enroll in the university while they will fulfill full weekly hours of their service.

Clearly, after graduation their transfer will be considered terminated, whereupon they shall report to the department of education and training of origin in order to continue their service.

5. Study missions also will not be accorded to the employed evening students who have been accepted in needed fields. These employees may, with the approval of the department of education and training of origin and destination, be transferred to the department of education of the place of study mission and continue their education while performing their full weekly hours of service. However, if, due to the decisions of their university, their course program is transferred from evening to daytime, they may be accorded study mission while they are engaged in study in the daytime period.



6. Conferring of study missions to the students of correspondence colleges (the Abu Reyhan Biruni University) in order to attend daytime universities that are under the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education is permissible. However, if the student is obligated to attend classes only one or two days a week, he shall not be accorded study mission; rather, his weekly hours shall be so arranged as to allow him to continue his study.

7. Contractual and hourly-paid personnel cannot use study missions. These people may continue their studies while they fulfill the assigned hours of work.

8. Study mission assignments may be issued to students of teachers colleges of the new system who have attained first or second rank in their classes, and also to employees with high school diplomas who, based on assigned quotas, have been accepted as associate of arts students in general, technical, and vocational teacher training centers, in accordance with the relevant rules and regulations.

Note: Given the fact that the above schools are 24-hour active centers, the implementation of 12-hour teaching assignment is not mandatory. However, following graduation these individuals must compensate the above mentioned 12 hours per week, proportionate to the length of the study mission.

9. Conferring of study mission to employees whose branch of service has been changed from instructional (teaching) to administrative as a result of verdicts issued by relevant boards is permissible within the framework of the stipulated regulations, provided that they have been accepted in the fields of study solely needed in administration.

10. Issuance of study mission assignments to employed students accepted in Master's programs and in the fields needed by the Ministry of Education and Training is permissible provided that they pledge their commitments to teach in the teacher training centers and institutions affiliated with the Office of Technical, Vocational, and Higher Education Affairs after their graduation, and that they accept to work one day a week in the said centers during the study mission, or work two days in the administrative offices of the headquarters. In cases where these people are admitted in the technical Master's programs which give rise to pledge commitment to other ministries and governmental institutions, issuance of study mission will be forbidden.

11. Employees who are accepted in the fields of study needed by the Ministry of Education and Training and whose field of study is divided into two stages (first stage from HS diploma to Associate degree; second stage from Associate to Bachelor) may benefit from the privileges pertaining to the study mission until the end of the bachelor's program only if the university affirms that the stages in their field are continuous. If, on the other hand, they have been accepted for an AA degree, and subsequently, after taking the university entrance examination once more, they are admitted to the Bachelor's program, approval of their study mission is possible according to section (14), and after they have fulfilled, at least, three years of their previous commitment.

Note: Conferring of study mission assignments in the case of those accepted in the agricultural specialty fields may be made following pertinent review by the Office of Agricultural Training.

12. The maximum period allowed for the use of study mission will be equivalent to the allowable period as determined by the Cultural Revolution Headquarters, while the permissible period for a bachelor's degree will be four years, and that of an associate degree two years; for interrupted bachelor's degree (from AA to BA) and also for those who have an AA degree but have reenrolled for a BA it will be a maximum of three years, and in case the period of study of these individuals exceeds the said period, they will have to make use of the assignment to service status.

13. Payment of salary and fringe benefits to the personnel assigned to study mission is dependent upon their submission of certification of work as defined above, from the office of education of their place of study and the previous place of their work, as well as a certificate of useful study from the relevant university.

14. The length of service record and the age of the employees assigned to study mission must be such that, given the period of study and the length of their previous service, they will still be able to serve before they reach the age of forced retirement.

15. Issuance of study mission assignment orders for those accepted into the program in previous years and also for those accepted in the current year shall be carried out no later than the end of the month of Mehr (22 October) of the year. Study mission assignments are absolutely forbidden after course programs have been determined and manpower distribution for educational units has been carried out. Those individuals or responsible officials who are found to be deviating from this rule will be dealt with according to the regulations. Also, study mission assignees may not be transferred during the period of their study assignment.

16. Needless to say that the employees who up to now have been using study assignments in other fields can continue their studies in the same fields to which they have been assigned.

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IRAN

## STATES INVOLVED IN ARMS SALES TO ISLAMIC REGIME

Israel's Annual Sale: \$800 Million

London KEYHAN in Persian 3 Oct 85 pp 1, 14

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text]

The Islamic Republic has recently been faced with an unprecedented crisis in the arena of its conflict with Iraq. This crisis can force the Islamic Republic to launch a major assault against Iraq in the next two months, which may lead to either a final victory or an absolute defeat. The attacks launched by Iraqi planes against the oil installations in the Kharq Island have reduced Iranian oil exports considerably.

On the other hand, the clandestine network of arms export to Iran that has maintained this country's armed forces during the last four years has come undone. Currently, the Iranian functionaries are in the midst of a great effort on a world-wide scale to secure arms, thus penetrating the prohibitive wall created by the US arms embargo.

At the beginning of this week, the British Defense Ministry officially admitted to the sale of a large quantity of spare parts for Chieftain tanks to the Islamic Republic. Iraq has been enjoying the provision of large-scale French- and Soviet-built arms and, in recent months, of American armament. Thus, if the Islamic Republic wishes to maintain its capability to face the Iraqi enemy it has to resort to any stratagem to secure arms, including theft, contraband and underground activities--paying for weapons it thus secures at a price far above their true market value.

Since the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war Israel has been secretly exporting arms to Iran through intermediaries, and except for a few periods of interruption it still continues to do so. Arms experts estimate the amount of Israel's annual arms export to Iran somewhere between \$500 and \$800 million.

On this point, the weekly magazine OBSERVER wrote that the export of arms from Israel to Iran has been routinely denied by both countries. However, as stated by one of the most creditable arms merchants, while they are constantly engaged in name-calling through the mass media, these two countries are secretly shaking hands.

The OBSERVER added: the Israeli and Iranian envoys meet from time to time on the Israeli soil. And one of these meetings took place last year in a famous London hotel.

Israeli arms exports to Iran include parts for U.S.-built fighter jets F-4 and F-5. Moreover, Israel is the main supplier of cannons, machine guns, and many other weapons needed by the Islamic Republic.

A great part of arms commerce between Israel and the Islamic Republic takes place indirectly through mediating agents, wrote the OBSERVER. In certain cases these deals are accomplished through two or even three intermediaries. In such cases, phony names are given for the final destinations or users. Most of the arms sent to the Islamic Republic find their way through Portugal.

Containers of Israeli arms in Portugal are shipped to Bandar Abbas, after the documents relating to their destination have been forged. However, in emergency cases, Israeli arms are directly shipped to Iran.

The OBSERVER revealed that an example of this mode of arms delivery to the Islamic Republic took place last month. On 16, 17, and 19 September, TIMES of London carried reports of mysterious flights to and from Iran of a DC8 and a Boeing 707. Both airplanes belonged to an obscure American company named "International Airlines."

The DC8 was lost in the Turkish air space, and secretly landed in an Israeli airport.

OBSERVER wrote that now sources close to the international arms merchants have unveiled the secrets of the flights of the two airplanes. According to these sources the DC8 flew initially from the United States to Israel, and subsequently from Israel to Tabriz. The said airplane, after delivering its cargo--which was nothing but American-built anti-aircraft Hawk missiles--at the Tabriz airport, returned to Israel.

The Boeing 707 also made two flights to Iran, both by way of Malaga in Spain. In each of its flights to Iran, this plane carried 1250 T-O-W antitank missiles. These missiles are used to arm the American "Cobra" helicopters, now at the disposal of the Islamic Republic.

OBSERVER wrote that despite Khomeyni's apparent anti-Israeli position, and the anti-Israeli activities of the pro-Islamic Republic Lebanese Shiites, these days Israel favors the establishment of a friendly though secret relations with the Islamic Republic.

Both countries are enemies of the Arab world. This is a point of mutual interest that makes all ideological differences appear insignificant. For Israel it is vital that the Islamic Republic not to be defeated in the war with Iraq.

The OBSERVER wrote that sources knowledgeable about arms deals have reported that in an agreement with the Islamic Republic China undertook to sell 40 Chinese ground-to-ground missiles to Iran. These missiles are of the Russian "Scud" missiles, which were sent to Iran early last summer by way of Damascus.

### British Sales Reach Considerable Amounts

London KEYHAN in Persian 3 Oct 85 pp 1, 14

[London KEYHAN in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

London- David Steele, leader of Britain's Liberal Party, while condemning the sale of British arms to the Islamic Republic declared that he will bring up this matter in the parliament.

The Liberal Party leader was speaking about documents that had been published by the National Resistance Movement of Iran, which were also published in the Saturday 28 September issue of the GUARDIAN.

Dr David Steele told reporters: "The Defense Ministry's decision to sell military arms and equipment to the Islamic republic, particularly spare parts for tanks, runs counter to the regulations approved by Margaret Thatcher's Government. According to these regulations, the British government shall refrain from selling any weapons and equipment that may prolong the Persian Gulf war to both warring parties."

While calling the Defense Military's decision unacceptable David Steele added: "England must not support or give any help to a despotic and blood-thirsty regime that rules by terror and repression. Aid to a regime that denies human rights is intolerable."

In a different part of his statements David Steele said: "He will question the defense secretary in parliament as to whether the decision to deliver arms to the Islamic Republic was brought to the attention of the foreign secretary, and whether Mr Michael Haseltine (defense secretary) was aware that by this action he had broken the prohibition of arms export to Iran."

The GUARDIAN published its report on the sale of arms to Iran on the first page of its Saturday issue. According to this report: the British Defense Department has taken steps to sell a large amount of arms and military equipment to the Islamic Republic. The equipment thus sold include spare parts for tanks. The British government had announced many times previously that it would refrain from selling any type of arms that may prolong or intensify the Persian Gulf conflicts.

According to GUARDIAN's report published in London, in the process of selling arms to the Islamic Republic--which was confirmed last week by the Defense Department--this country has delivered a large number of spare parts for Chieftain tanks and armored vehicles to the Islamic Republic.

The said newspaper revealed that the arms and military equipment which were sold by Britain to the Islamic Republic was shipped to Tehran at the beginning of the current year by 15 airplanes. In order to keep the mission of the 15 planes carrying arms secret, British agents marked the arms containers "spare parts for motor vehicles." Agreement concerning arms shipment to Iran was reached toward the end of last year in a meeting in Tehran between the



officials of the Islamic Republic and those of the Service Department of the Internal Directorate of the British Defense Department (corporation responsible for the execution of agreements to sell arms to foreign countries). Parallel with this agreement in Tehran, Britain's responsible officials of the Foreign Office declared in the House of Commons that the British Government is determined to strengthen and intensify its policy of not selling arms and ammunition to Iraq and Iran.

Last week the minister of defense officially announced that the parts delivered to Iran last year had been sold to that country before the advent of the Islamic revolution, and that they had been paid for completely. These parts are not lethal and therefore there was no reason not to deliver them to the purchasing country.

GUARDIAN wrote that sources at the Defense Ministry refrained from commenting on the monetary value of the arms delivered to the Islamic Republic. In addition, these sources did not agree to comment on the understanding between the two countries about keeping the type of cargo secret from the airplane's pilot and crew.

The said paper revealed that the list of the weapon's parts and pieces sold to the Islamic Republic and also the official letter of the Internal Services of the Defense Department was sent to Tehran by Foreign Office's diplomatic pouch. The GUARDIAN wrote that the United States, a country that since the incident of the hostages has strongly condemned any sale of arms to the Islamic Republic, has strenuously criticized the British approach to the sale of war materiel to Iran. The American officials claim that they have recently destroyed an important network of arms sales to Iran that used London as the base for exporting U.S. arms to that country.

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IRAN

## TURKISH REACTION SPECULATED IF PIPELINE ATTACKED BY REGIME

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Oct 85 p 9

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher: Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Statements which were made last week by Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Islamic Majlis, about the possible attack of the Islamic Republic on the Iraq-Turkey and Iraq-Saudi Arabia oil pipelines have been met with a severe reaction by Turkey's officials and press.

The initial Turkish reaction to the Islamic Republic's idea of one day attacking the Iraqi pipeline, which extends from Kirkuk to the port of Yamortalick in southern Turkey, appeared in Monday's Turkish newspapers. Articles in the MELIAT, GUNAYADIN and HURRIAT newspapers indirectly warned the Islamic Republic that any kind of sabotage against the pipeline from Iraq to Turkey will be considered as sabotage against the economy, security and destiny of the Turkish nation.

The MIDDLE EAST TIMES, published weekly in Cyprus, published a report in this regard and mentioned: "The Islamic Republic is playing with fire this time. Turkey is not a nation to show patience and self-control against such threats.

### Kurds as a Factor in the Crisis

In another part of its report, the MIDDLE EAST TIMES states: "The opening of a new front by the Islamic Republic against Iraq at the point where the Iranian, Iraqi, and Turkish borders meet might bring Tehran and Ankara face to face." The MIDDLE EAST TIMES then refers to the position of the Iranian forces in this region and states: "There is evidence on hand that indicates that the Iranian military forces occupied a region with an area of 450 square kilometers in the northeast corner of Iraq on 9 September. Despite the fact that this region is very far from the important strategic points of Iraq and does not have any military importance, yet since its high points are connected to the heights of the Hakkari region in Turkey it could be accounted for as a hiding place for Turkish Kurdish rebels. By entering this region, the Iranians intended to establish a base for sending aid to the combatants of the Democrat Party. These combatants, who are followers of Mullah Mustafa Barzani's sons Edris and Massoud, are condemned by Turkey and in the recent revolts of the Kurds of this country, Iran and Iraq provided them with military aid from inside their countries."

According to an agreement, since March 1984 Iraq and Turkey have formed a joint border patrol to pursue the Kurds inside each other's border. By taking advantage of this agreement, the Turkish forces have entered northern Iraq several times and crushed the revolutionary Kurds. According to the MIDDLE EAST TIMES, Iraq has concentrated most of its important forces on its frontiers with Iran and they are not willing to answer the Kurd's aggressions and therefore this duty is entrusted to Turkey. For this reason, if the Kurds who are under Islamic Republic support advance further in northern Iraq and consider getting to the Kirkuk oil pipeline in Turkey, Ankara will confront them.

Colonel Ali Sanjabi, commander of the Iranian forces stationed in this region, has acknowledged this fact. According to him: "Our problem is that if we consider sabotaging the Iraqi pipeline to Turkey, in practice we will have invited Ankara to a war and this is something that is not on our minds at all under present conditions."

With regard to the Iran-Turkey crisis, the Lebanese newspaper ALSAFIR also states in a report: "In recent weeks, Turkish officials' suspicions have risen immensely with regard to the purpose of the Islamic Republic's intentions to mobilize and equip anti-Iraqi regime Kurds in the joint frontiers of both countries." ALSAFIR adds: "A large part of Turkish oil is provided by the Iraqi pipeline and Turkey also collects a considerable amount of fees for protection and passage rights, therefore if the Islamic Republic succeeds one day in sabotaging or bombing this pipeline, in order to confront the Islamic Republic, Turkey will side with Iraq."

At present, Iran-Turkey trade exceeds three billion dollars a year. According to an agreement between Mir Huseyn Musavi, the Islamic Republic prime minister and his Turkish counterpart, Turgut Ozal, which was signed last year, by laying a pipeline, Iran will export its gas and oil via Turkey to Europe, but according to the ALSAFIR report, the destiny of this agreement is still uncertain and even its preliminary stages are not complete.

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IRAN

# BARZANI KURDS SIDE WITH KHOMEYNI AGAINST SADDAM

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Oct 85 p 9

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service--The matter of faction making of Iranian and Iraqi Kurds and their sides taking with the two countries' regimes has become more serious in recent weeks. This subject, especially with regard to the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq under the leadership of the offsprings of Mullah Mostafa Barzani, has passed the stage of a limited military cooperation to a military ideological unity. The Islamic Republic as a result of the signing of an agreement between the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iraq and the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Kurdistan, in addition to giving arms to the combatants of the Democrat Party of Iraq, has also placed important military bases on the Iran-Iraq frontier at the disposal of Barzani and his people. In return, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, under the leadership of Abdul Rahman Qasemloo, which until sometime ago as a member of the National Resistance Council benefited from Iraqi arms and logistic aid, after separating from the National Resistance Council on August 15 last month, in practice has been left alone facing all-sided attacks by the Islamic Republic Guards. Iraq prefers to extend its aid to the Mujahedins since they do not have any attachment to the soil and culture of Kurdistan.

By using the resources provided them by Iraq, the People's Mujahedins take credit for any kind of victory by the Democratic Party. According to Qasemloo, the leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party: "Those people behind the mountains inside Iraq who are indulging in a voluptuous living and then rob the glory of others' victory and call it their own must realize that one day the truth will at last be revealed to the people." In the same regard, Jurgen Rintz, the German journalist and political expert who recently visited Iranian Kurdistan published a report and referred to the sad condition of the Kurdish combatants who are surrounded by the domestic and foreign enemies. He quotes Dr Qasemloo and writes: "The Mujahedins, during the course of their cooperation with the Democratic Party through their despotic methods and impositions, had practically used the National Resistance Council to fulfill their own whims. "Qasemloo also rejects the possibilities of the Mujahedins coming to power after Khomeyni's death and states: "Based on the anti-nationalist and fascist methods of the Mujahedins, the majority of the Iranian people have turned away from this organization."

In a statement issued on the occasion of the anniversary of the separation from the Mujahedins, the Kurdish Democratic Party for the first time explains the reasons for the separation of the party from the National Resistance Council. This statement reveals that the Kurdish Democratic Party has entirely rejected the cooperation of the Mujahedins with Iraq. In this regard, the Party's statements indicate: "When the Islamic Republic accepts the rightful and just demands of the Kurdistan people, the members of the Kurdish Peshmerga organization will be ready to defend the borders of their homeland against the aggression of Iraq."

#### At The Iraqi Kurdish Front

As there are differences of opinion among the Iranian Kurdish front, with differences of opinion between Democrats and Komleh on the one side and the obstruction of a few hundred Peshmerga's People's Mujahedins on the other in the fighting affairs of the Democratic Party which has prevented the establishment of a single antiregime front in Iranian Kurdistan, likewise, the Iraqi Kurds are also not always cooperative and unified. Whereas the Kurdish Communist Party of Iraq and the Kurdistan National Unity Forces under the leadership of Jalal Talebani, despite the opposition of the Baghdad regime, call Ayatollah Khomeyni's regime reactionary and not trustworthy, and call the supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq a reactionary descendant of imperialism, Barzani's children are in allegiance with the Ayatollah and completely at his disposal. After their brief cooperation with Syria and Libya, which actually resulted in the loss of their status in Iran, today they have placed all their hopes on the ayatollahs!

Massoud Barzani, the military leader of the Democratic Party, in an interview with a group of foreign correspondents who were transported by the Islamic Republic to their headquarters at the Iran-Iraq frontier last week said: "With the cooperation of the Islamic Republic, our soldiers are working to topple Saddam Huseyn's regime and establish an Islamic regime in Iraq." Barzani, who is 39 years old, in the same interview stated; "Our soldiers are represented in all the mountainous regions of northern Iraq from Iran's to Syria's frontiers". Massoud Barzani rejects any cooperation with the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran and said: "Our soldiers are participating shoulder-to-shoulder with the Islamic Republic forces to crush the forces of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran."

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IRAN

# EMIGRE PAPER COMMENTS ON SHORTAGE OF OIL SUPPLIES

London KEYHAN in Persian 14 Nov 85 p 8

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] News arriving from the south of Iran indicates that the Islamic republic has not been able to supply the kerosene and fuel oil consumed by the people and factories in the way that the regime hoped and expected. After the ruination of the large Abadan refinery--which every year [as written] refined 500 to 600 tons of oil--the Islamic republic has been in a bind over the production of kerosene and fuel oil.

The Islamic republic's Ministry of Petroleum intended to compensate for this shortage by raising the production level at domestic refineries--particularly in the Esfahan and Tabriz refineries. However, in light of the disinterest of the refineries' employees in technical difficulties and the unrest and chaos in the management of the oil industry, this task was not possible, and in Esfahan where to a degree production increased--according to the statement of a representative of the Flour Company that built the Esfahan refinery, due to the carelessness and pressure on the refinery, damage was done to this new facility that will cut its life span in half.

The Islamic republic had no alternative but to plan to purchase oil from Libya, which in turn was facing problems. And because the relations of the Islamic republic with other countries on the Persian Gulf littoral were also disrupted, officials had no choice but to use the only country in the region with which they are friends--meaning South Yemen--to eliminate the shortage of gasoline and fuel oil consumed by the country by sending crude oil to Aden and bringing back refined oil.

Last year an amount of crude oil was carried from one of Kharg's jetties to Aden and after refining was brought into the country. This year however, in light of the damage suffered by the Kharg dock and the lack of confidence in the work of the country's domestic refineries, the Islamic government asked the Majlis to appropriate the sum of 2.6 billion tuman to the oil company in such a way that the oil company would deduct this amount from its own development budget, 2 billion tuman going for the transport of oil to Aden and the remainder for the purchase of 7 oil tankers to take oil from Kharg Island to Siri Island.



Mohammad Gharazi, the former minister of petroleum, who had previously concluded the necessary contracts with a Japanese builder for the purchase of the ships, pressured the Majlis and announced that if this credit was not appropriated to the Ministry of Petroleum, this winter the Iranian people would not have kerosene and the factories would not have fuel oil for fuel. As a result, this bill was approved by the Majlis, and the interesting thing is that permission was given to the oil company to deduct this amount from its developmental credits--which relate to the injection of wells, the repair of pump houses and extraction equipment--and it is not clear how much damage this will cause in the future.

Since it came to power the Islamic republic has taken no step of any sort to make up the shortage of refined oil needed for domestic consumption despite the destruction of the large Abadan refinery. It is interesting that four years ago a plan to construct a refinery in Arak as the country's seventh refinery was given attention and examined, and an extravagant amount was paid to foreign experts to study the plan, but in a period of four years the construction of this refinery has not passed the stage of purchasing land and removing earth.

The Islamic republic is speeding to purchase new oil tankers while a deputy at the oil company admits that it already owns 9 ships which are used to transfer oil from Kharg to Siri in light of the refusal of oil tankers to go to Kharg.

Now 50,000 barrels of crude oil are going to Aden daily and refined there. 33,000 barrels of it are sold there as surplus, so that only a small amount reaches the government's treasury after six months, and the remaining barrels are returned to Iran.

In light of the daily increasing Iraqi attacks on Kharg and the sinking of several Iranian ships, the Ministry of Petroleum had no choice but to prepare a fresh plan, namely to transfer a portion of the petroleum byproducts to the pipeline network via Bahr-e Gansar. Because there are great many problems in the Bahr-e Gansar region and it is threatened by Iraqi airplanes, the Islamic republic not only is paying heavy charges to foreign companies for transport from this area but in fact is also regularly paying extra sums due to difficulties and delay in unloading the ships.

Shohab, deputy minister of petroleum, recently announced that 500 million dollars were paid last year as extra charges in order to encourage petroleum-transport companies, and that this sum is in addition to the extraordinary discounts the Islamic republic is giving to oil buyers!...

Concerning the sales of oil last year, Shohab, the deputy minister of petroleum, gives this explanation: "Last year we faced great difficulties in exporting crude oil. For one, the Kharg area was proclaimed as a danger zone, and a notable number of shipping companies owning tankers which transport oil boycotted the area and did not come. Now this could be for a political reason or because they really were afraid. In any case, they did



not come. A portion of our oil exports are tied up in decisions made by shipping companies. December of last year we had contracts arranged for more than 2 million barrels a day from the beginning to the end of the month, and these contracts had been concluded. However, at the end of the month more than 50 percent of the contracts had not been realized. Once I witnessed the movement of four large ships that were coming towards Kharg, I was coming the same direction with another swimmer. Four vessels were moving with us. When we arrived at Kharg, these ships had disappeared. The reason for this was that 60 or 70 miles away from Kharg they became frightened, changed their course, and left..."

Now the Islamic republic is trying to spend the money it earns from selling oil at auction prices to purchase ships, and it is not clear at what price and under what conditions it is purchasing them in its hastiness, when they will be delivered, and how long they will stay afloat in light of the Persian Gulf situation.

Informed engineers at the oil company deem it unlikely that the Islamic republic will be able to supply the kerosene and fuel oil for the consumption of the people and the factories, and now the prospect of a cold, hard winter faces the people. Particularly since according to published reports, due to problems at several of the country's refineries, their production will be less than the level predicted.

It is necessary to note that the budget last year of the Ministry of Petroleum--which is the former oil company [NIOC]--was 322 billion rials, which is spent in accordance to law subject to the approval of the board of directors.

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IRAN

FORMER PRIME MINISTER EXHORTS 'VAGRANTS' TO REPATRIATE

London KEYHAN in Persian 10 Oct 85 pp 1, 14

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] London - KEYHAN News Service - Engineer Mehdi Bazargan's letter addressed to Iranians residing abroad, which was published last week before his departure from Europe, was met in some political and social circles as a denial of the rumors about his negotiations in Germany and Belgium. Engineer Barzagan, the leader of the Freedom Movement and the first prime minister of the Islamic Republic who was on a 10 day visit to Germany and Belgium, at the conclusion of his visit announced that due to the invitation of the German orientalists, he stayed a few days in that country and spent a few days in Belgium to visit his family. On his last day, he wrote a letter addressed to vagrant Iranians and while bidding farewell to them, he recommended that instead of residing and seeking asylum abroad, they return to their country which presently needs experienced and devoted people.

The text of the first Islamic Republic prime minister's letter is as follows:

Dear Vagrant Countrymen,

On my short trip to Europe with Engineer Mehdi Tavasoli, which took place at the invitation of the twenty-third congress of German orientalists, both of us on behalf of the Freedom Movement friends and ourselves wished to say hello and meet all our brothers and sisters who are residing abroad in person. The brothers and sisters who have the love of Iran on their minds and in their hearts and are coping with their own problems and suffering from being far from their country. And those who after years of struggle and hopes were driven away after the revolution and are surrounded by frustration and hardship--they are neither happy in exile nor can face returning home. And those whose means of livelihood or studies have been provided with ease or strain and are living in humiliation and bewilderment among foreigners who are against Islam and Iran. Due to a lack of time and schedule limitations of our trip we did not have the chance to meet and greet the great and scattered groups of our countrymen and are compelled to content ourselves with sending a collective message and praying to God.

We hope the era of calamity and suffering, which is a test of development and reconstruction, is soon concluded and with the vast divine blessing and sublime

aspiration of the nation, the people of Iran in all walks of life will govern and rule Iran based on freedom, justice and majority vote according to the religious laws of Islam. We hope that they take steps to serve and work for the prosperity of the public and teach the world the lesson of Islam and revolution as a model. In bidding farewell, I want to recommend two things to you: First, friendship and self-reliance and abandonment of quarrel and enmity. If you who call yourselves oppressed, frustrated, entitled to administering the country and demand independence under the flag of freedom and democracy, are not willing to bear and make up for the difficulties and misunderstandings during the exile period and help each other, how then can you prove your competency and permit yourselves to object to the sovereignty of Iran?

Along with apology and affection, my second statement is to invite Iranians to return instead of residing abroad or seeking asylum and asking for help from foreigners and facing vagrancy and all kinds of hardships. At present, our country is in need of devoted individuals and specialists and if their inner anguish and cries are expressed in a collective tone with courage and frankness, they can be heard better by the officials and be much more effective. Neither your overseas lamentation and nagging nor your complaints and expectations from foreigners will solve any problems nor will the insults and feuds of those who are living in secure and comfortable conditions.

Your countryman and devoted friend

Mehdi Bazargan

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PAKISTAN

ENERGY PROBLEMS CRIPPLING ECONOMY, PROTEST FEARED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Oct 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Will There Be a Search for Electricity Also Now?"]

[Text] Will we have to, on a national and state level, search for electricity with the same special effort which has been expended for years in looking for treasures of oil and gas? Obviously, this question is illogical, rather meaningless, since the buried treasures of oil and gas already exist, and the only thing required is to search for them and then make arrangements to benefit from them. On the other hand, the treasure of electricity is buried nowhere. Instead, every unit of it has to be produced by utilizing water, coal, gas or atomic energy. However, if we keep in view the implications of the open warning given by WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] to the entire country's consumers of every class and category that they should be prepared to face load shedding after December, and also its advice to make substitute arrangements with their generator sets, this question cannot be termed as illogical and meaningless.

For the last 4 or 5 years, ever since the annual winter-time chain of ever increasing load shedding began, WAPDA, with reference to the continuous increase in the usage and consumption of electricity as compared to production, has been saying quite clearly that load shedding would continue to be necessary for an indefinite period of time. The head of WAPDA, despite the rebuke by the federal minister of finance and planning regarding this matter, has also very explicitly stated that load shedding would continue as long as he lives. Whatever may be the causes of this situation and necessity, and however hard it may be to control them, this fact also cannot be denied that despite resignation to load shedding and being informed and cautioned about its causes and reasons, it is an issue which no sector of the consumers can be prepared and ready to accept gladly. Similarly, it is also impossible for all the consumers of every category to make their own substitute arrangements to fulfill this need. Due to the experience they have had of load shedding during the past year, the consumers can be mentally prepared to face this hardship and deprivation, but they will certainly raise their voice of protest against the hardship they will have to face as soon as the series of load shedding begins. This protest will continue to gain momentum during the entire period of load shedding.

The WAPDA authorities can express satisfaction that they have fulfilled their responsibility by aptly informing the consumers about the situation they will face soon. However, when, along with the residential and commercial consumers, the vital services like the hospitals, water-works, telephone exchange, press, radio and TV are affected by the load shedding and the factories and the tube-wells also remain closed during this period, then, the unpleasant, rather extremely damaging, impact it will have on the country's collective productive process will, in principle, negate all the administration's pleasant and encouraging propaganda regarding the developmental plans. Big hotels, successful restaurants and commercial and industrial institutions with resources, in an effort to fulfill their needs to some extent, will perhaps make arrangements for generator sets. Nevertheless, there will be a big increase in their expenditure. They will be a tiny minority in their own sector and category alone, not to mention among the consumers of the entire country. Also, it would not seem incorrect to say that during the load shedding period, the whole country will be set back.

Except in Karachi, WAPDA depends mostly on hydroelectricity. During the past 1.5 months, WAPDA has felt it necessary to boast frequently to the nation that, with the installation of new units in Turbela, more than 80 percent of the total production of electricity is indebted to the Turbela, Mangla and Warsak hydroelectric plants alone. But the greater the glad tidings and the more glorious the action, the more limited and brief its duration would prove to be. This has continued for 5 years that, in winter, the production of hydroelectric plants is not even equal to 50 percent of their annual capability and capacity. Last winter and during the months thereafter, because of drought, this production was not even 25 percent. The question raised high and low is to combat this situation, what thinking and planning are under way for the installation and expansion of new thermal power houses in order to meet the needs? Action is being taken on the plan of increasing production of the Gadu thermal power plant from 450 to 11,000 megawatts under the stage-by-stage program. However, in the upper part of the country, besides the expansion of the thermal power plants in Multan and Faisalabad, it has become essential to act without delay on the Kot Adu plan also. For many years, there has been talk of a plan to produce electricity with the coal from Lakhradh. So far, however, even the stage of deliberation and paperwork regarding this matter has not been accomplished. During this period, there have also been talks about granting an opportunity and extending an invitation to the private sector to participate in increasing the production of electricity. Nevertheless, no advance has been made in this.

With regard to increasing the production of electricity, most hopes have been pinned to the Kalabagh Dam in the expectation that, by 1992-93, it will start producing 2,400 megawatts of electricity, which later on could be increased to 3,600 megawatts. But an irony, or rather a misfortune, appears to be putting a very discouraging shadow on this vital plan also. The stage of commencing work on this plan, which has been under consideration for the last 3 years, was approaching when suddenly a very forceful opposition arose. The only beam of hope in this darkness is the statement made by the governor of the North West Frontier Province, Lt Gen Fazal Haq. He said that issuing statements about the Kalabagh Dam is meaningless, because it is the Federal Cabinet that will decide on the suitable site for its construction. He has also expressed the hope that this issue will be

resolved through mutual understanding, and that the Federal Cabinet's subcommittee, established last September, will soon announce its decision in this regard. However, at first, due to the referendum in December 1984 and then the general elections, it could not hold a meeting. It is quite a mystery that a subcommittee comprised of a few ministers could not hold a meeting within a period lasting even more than one year. In view of the on-going forceful opposition that has begun due to this delay, it has become most essential and unavoidable that the subcommittee of the Federal Cabinet should brook further delay in reaching some decision, so that the entire waiting nation might know what is written in its destiny. Anyhow, one thing is clear, that if decisive planning is not undertaken to increase the production of electricity, and if positive steps towards this continue to be the victim of delay, then within the next 5 to 10 years, the electricity crisis will create such a situation or rather tumult for the country and the nation that it is beyond contemplation or comprehension, much less description. The issue of the production of electricity demands a lot of hard work. It requires a lot of financial and technical resources. However, when none of the aspects of necessity is hidden and the resources, though limited, are not unavailable, then failing to fulfill [the need] can be called nothing else but misguidance.

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PAKISTAN

PAPER CALLS UPON GOVERNMENT, OPPOSITION TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 24 Oct 85 p 10

[Editorial] Addressing a general meeting in Shahdadpur, Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo said that it has always been his desire and his endeavor that Pakistan should be blessed with progress and prosperity through democratic means. He said that he was pleased and satisfied that because of the efforts, both his and those of his comrades, this objective has been almost realized and the approval of the eighth constitutional amendment will lay down solid and firm foundations of an unfettered and genuine democracy in the country.

This expression of happiness and satisfaction by the prime minister is not unwarranted. In his first address after receiving a unanimous vote of confidence in the National Assembly, he said in clear and unambiguous words that he had told the president that martial law and civil government are incompatible. Again on 14 August, addressing a general meeting in Lahore under the shadow of Minar Pakistan, he also announced that, given present conditions, martial law would be lifted before 1 January 1986. Following the National Assembly's unanimous approval of the constitutional amendment bill, he said that the first stage in the process of ending martial law and restoring democracy had been completed and that the second stage, passing laws relating to political parties, now remained. A session of the National Assembly is to begin on 3 November for this purpose.

This progress towards democracy, although slow and gradual, is gratifying. On the other hand, there is a report from Karachi that not only has permission not been granted to MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] leaders to hold their meeting in Karachi but that its leaders from Punjab, Frontier Province and Baluchistan, including Nawabzada Nasirullah Khan, Mr Asghar Khan, and Khan Abdul Wali Khan, who were to attend this meeting, have been barred from entering Sindh for 3 months. Whatever the justification or precaution there may be behind this step, it cannot be described as being in accordance with the process of restoring democracy. The date that has been definitely set for ending martial law, 31 December, is not far off and every thinking man is bound to wonder when, according to the prime minister, solid and firm foundations of a free and genuine democracy have been laid, how long martial law will continue to be used and how long there will be objections to the fairness and self-confidence that the democratic process anticipates and to wholehearted respect and arrangements for the basic, agreed and well-known dictates

of democracy. It is also the duty of opposition politicians (whether they belong to the MRD or to any other organization), when martial law is going to expire in 9 weeks, to let conditions in this fast-ending era remain favorable for democracy. Rather they should play a positive role in making this period favorable for democracy. They should not take any steps which might worsen the situation and strengthen the hands of those who, for their own special interests and objectives, want martial law to continue or allow a new martial law to be imposed in place of the old one. These elements have never been hidden before. Nor are they hidden today. With every day that passes, the date set for martial law is getting nearer, and this date has been announced by the prime minister and confirmed by President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq on more than one occasion. In fact, before leaving for New York to take part in the 40th anniversary celebrations of the United Nations, he even said that dictatorship has been buried. In this context, whatever the point of view of the MRD, the restored democracy will be better than martial law. It will be only fitting to accept the reality that after the end of martial law there will be relatively and definitely more opportunities for the democratic process. But at this juncture, if the situation worsens, then there will be a possibility and, indeed, danger of such an obstacle in the way of restoring democracy as could upset the entire apple cart.

Leaving aside MRD's line of thinking and line of action, the real responsibility for ending martial law and restoring democracy rests on the president and, with him, on the elected prime minister and the civil rulers, whose status, despite being non-party, is first and foremost political. When he announces that solid and firm foundations of an unfettered and real democracy have been laid, then he should also act courageously about the political process to restore democracy. Vis-a-vis its political opponents, government commands more means and resources for winning public cooperation and confidence. The government has every right to these resources and it is making use of them. But it should not be a one-way street. Government should afford its political opponents the same opportunities that promote and encourage democracy. The practice of restricting their entry into various provinces is a time-honored one. Not long ago people witnessed the same thing practiced here in Punjab. But this did not produce good results in the past and it is not going to lead to good results now. It takes all kind of people to make democracy work.

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PAKISTAN

DISGRUNTLED ELEMENTS SAID PESSIMISTIC ABOUT RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 29 Oct 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Defeated Ones"]

[Text] Mian Tufail Muhammad, leader of Jamiat-e Islami, Pakistan, has advised the politically influential persons to be careful of what they do and say at this point in the country's history, so that, as the government has promised, we may be rid of the martial law by the end of the year, and thus find a place of honor in the community of nations. In the present situation, he said, the proper attitude can lead to very pleasant results while one wrong step can prove to be disastrous.

At this moment when we are hoping that the longest martial law in our history would end, giving place to a democracy of sorts, that would help us to continue our struggle to achieve the high ideals for which Pakistan was created, some pessimistic leaders are declaring that even if the present martial law goes, another will come in its place. These lovers of darkness refuse to open their eyes and see that the dawn of a new era has arrived. Had they kept their ideas to themselves we could ignore them for being utterly blind and stupid, but they are, by their public statements trying to inject their pessimism in minds of the whole nation. They are trying to mislead the people into thinking that the future holds no promise for any body. They are defeatists. They refused to take part in the elections. The elections took place without them, the assemblies were formed and democracy began to work. The nation seemed to be perfectly happy without them. This makes them angry (some of them are sorry they did not take part in the elections). They have now begun to use all their energy in trying to defeat the democratic activity in the country. They want to dishearten the public by saying that there is no democracy in the country and that the nation is heading for disaster.

The proof of our democratic success is the National Assembly. These angry men want to defeat democracy by giving the assemblies a bad name. Mian Tufail Mohammad said at his press conference in Multan that all patriots should, with their positive activity, defeat the negative influence of these traitors. Pakistan is our country, said Mian Tufail Mohammad, and our future depends on the future of Pakistan. These disgruntled people say that they do not like the present assemblies. Well, why did they not join in the elections? They should have won seats in the assembly. Then they could have got a chance to

Speak their mind inside the assembly. All that they demand is the restoration of the '73 constitution. Strangely enough, these people only wrote the constitution of 1973, they did not, during the period of their rule, let it work. What does it matter to them whether such a constitution is restored or not? The people of Pakistan know who these men are. They are the enemies of the nation. Some of them sit in London and talk about confederation. Others are forming Sindh, Baluch and Pakhtun fronts in order to break the country. Some of them want to hold elections to choose a constituent assembly which would be asked to prepare a new constitution. An aged intellectual in London declares that his sole purpose in life is to break Pakistan. All these people have anti-national aims and they mean to fulfill their aims with the help of India, the USSR or the United States. Is it proper for these men to punish the nation for their own defeats?

12476/12790

CSO: 4656/18

PAKISTAN

UNEMPLOYMENT CALLED EXTREMELY SERIOUS ISSUE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 24 Oct 85 p 10

[Editorial] The prime minister also said in Shahdadpur that the problem of unemployment is not confined to one region or province but is a country-wide problem. He said wherever he goes, 90 percent of the petitions he receives are about getting employment. What he has said is nothing new, but it is difficult to imagine anything more terrible than the issue he has touched on. Obviously, the petitions he gets are from educated unemployed, who from all over the country ask him for help and recommendations in getting jobs. In our country, we do not keep statistics on this basic social and economic issue, but it would not be correct to dismiss as unrealistic and doubtful recently published reports saying that there are 5 million unemployed in the country. Every one knows how long people in rural areas are employed and how long they remain unemployed. Job hunting is a major reason for large-scale migration from rural areas to cities. But now, even in cities, finding a job is getting more and more difficult every day. This is because new industries are not being set up and the established factories are becoming victims of a depressed market and, partially or completely, all are affected by it. According to a recent report, out of the 118 woolen mills in the country built at a cost of 30 million rupees, 70 have completely closed down and their over 20,000 workers are without jobs. This condition is not confined to this industry alone. "Sick Industry" has become a regular byword.

Whatever the reasons that went to make unemployment a serious, or rather critical, issue, lack of planning is the most important. Today, the crisis of unemployment that doctors are facing and its extent is known to the entire country. There is great danger that engineers will be facing a similar crisis very soon. This is the condition of joblessness among educated, or rather, highly educated people, when the literacy rate is only 24 to 25 percent. It is not difficult to imagine how serious this problem can get when literacy goes up. In reference to Baluchistan and Sindh, the feeling of frustration of which we have heard is also due to lack of opportunities for employment and jobs. Because of special reasons in Baluchistan, even people with less merit can get admissions and there are special concessions for employment, but in Karachi, Punjab and Frontier Province, where there is more education, there is also a higher incidence of joblessness. The abundance of money that one notices in our society is misleading because most of the work is in the field of construction, or the money that we see circulating is sent home by

Pakistanis abroad. Because of this, prices have rocketed and, consequently, the jobless and the educated unemployed, especially, feel very frustrated. Clearly, so long as the economic system is not changed and work and employment opportunities are not provided according to ability, merit and qualifications, annual progress statistics issued by the economic experts will not be able to create a real and lasting satisfaction. Politicians can delude themselves that on their command people start agitation and take to the streets, but the basic fact is that it is people's frustrations which make people take to the streets. There is nothing more frustrating for a needy and deserving person and his family than the unavailability of employment. If government experts and planners do not act realistically, then the danger is that restoration of democracy will be taken to mean a license for meetings and processions. There will be confrontations with police on the streets, windows of buses will be broken or buses will be set ablaze, and police will reply with cane charges and tear gas, but the problem, instead of being resolved, will become even more complicated and serious.

12286/12790

CSO: 4656/17



PAKISTAN

ZIA CALLS 1973 CONSTITUTION 'UN-ISLAMIC'

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Editorial: "What is the Goal"]

[Text] President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, during his address in Karachi, objected to the 1973 constitution, saying that it is not Islamic in nature. Writing in these columns the other day we had said that a satisfactory answer could be given by the ulema-the religious scholars-and politicians alone. Accordingly, reaction to the president's remarks were made the other day. It is also a strange coincidence that the day on which the president's remarks that the 1973 constitution is not Islamic were published in the newspapers, some newspapers carried the statement by Mian Tufail Mohammad, the leader of Tahrik-e Islami, that "the 1973 constitution is not un-Islamic." Mian Tufail, addressing a press conference in Dera Ismail Khan from which he was forcefully evicted, said: "If we are to assess this point of view from a wider national angle, then this unanimous constitution which is not un-Islamic would spread a slight ray of hope that could kindle the torch of the law of Shariat in the country. If constitution were to be worked out in the future, it might not be unanimous. If the constitution is not restored and martial law is not lifted, then the nation, coming out of one swamp, would get itself into another.

Only the other day Professor Ghafoor Ahmed, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Maulana Noorani, Fakhruddin G. Ibrahim, former judge of the supreme court, and other distinguished politicians and constitutional experts expressed their profound reaction to President Ziaul Haq's statement dis-regarding the statement of objects and reasons in all the constitutions and declaring the 1973 constitution un-Islamic. All of them insisted that the 1973 constitution is Islamic. Professor Ghafoor Ahmed raised the question that if any constitution is un-Islamic then its responsibility rests with President Ziaul Haq who has enforced the constitution of 1985. The Professor said that President Ziaul Haq had all the authority and means at his command and, as such, side by side with imposing other laws and martial law regulations, he could also enforce an Islamic constitution as well. From the Pakistan movement to date, the nation has been unanimously demanding an Islamic constitution, laws, system of life and government. But it is a great tragedy that people are complaining that an Islamic constitution has not been enforced for the last 38 years. Even if the 1973 constitution were to be declared un-Islamic, how can martial law be declared Islamic? Professor Ghafoor Ahmed said he thought that declaring the constitution un-Islamic and expressing the desire and need for a new Islamic constitution amounts to justifying the extension of martial law.

According to other leaders, the 1973 constitution was formed after consultation with the powerful scholars of all schools of thought, and many religious and political leaders of the country declared the constitution to be Islamic. Sardar Sherbaz Mazari said that, at the time the 1973 constitution was unanimously adopted, the late Mufti Mahmoud, Mian Tufail Mohammad and Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani had officially declared that the constitution was Islamic. At that time the religious scholars were unanimous on that point. The fact is that the constitution which is not against the Koran and the Sunnah is Islamic. The 1973 constitution specifically declares that no laws will be made that are against the Koran and the Sunnah. Now if there is any law in the constitution which could unanimously be declared un-Islamic, it should be changed, and this change could have been easily effected during the past 8 years because not only were all power and authority vested in the hands of one person, but the whole nation was demanding that Islamic laws should be enforced in the country. If this had been done, no one would have had any objections. But what really happened was that the Islamic limitations ordinance was issued which created a good opportunity for the police to make good money. Now whenever one is charged, the accused is asked under what ordinance the charge should be registered and, in order not to have the charge registered under the limitations ordinance, a bigger bribe is asked. The limitations ordinance has been turned into a joke. The punishments meted out for any crime according to Islamic laws all appear to be very strict. But the real aim of these punishments is prevention of crime and instilling fear of God. However, none of the Islamic punishments has been enforced. Only paper work has been done. Any Islamic courts that may have been set up do not have complete authority.

If by any chance we were to acknowledge that the 1973 constitution was un-Islamic, the question that would arise is where was this constitution for the past 8 years? According to the president he had placed the constitution on a shelf so that it might receive air. That is to say, since 5 July 1977 the country was run without any constitution. Now let us assess and find out how much of the unconstitutional constitution is Islamic and how much of it is un-Islamic. In Islam great importance is placed on basic rights. Were the basic rights of the people completely safeguarded during the past 8 years? Did they have the right of movement and the right of expression? Were the Koran and Sunnah given supremacy over all orders, laws and regulations? Did the people and the representatives of the people have a say in running the government? Was the sanctity of the veil and the four walls maintained? Can any significant divergence be pointed to during the current regime which could be said to be the outstanding performance of an Islamic period of government? Isn't martial law by itself un-Islamic? President Ziaul Haq himself has described it as an evil and a curse for the nation right from the beginning. According to Professor Ghafoor Ahmed, compared to martial law the constitution of 1973 is far better, and now that a civil government has been formed there are signs of restoration of democracy in sight. A date has been set for ending martial law after which it is believed that the 1973 constitution will be re-instated. At such time, for the president to make remarks designed to create doubt and suspicions about the constitution does not in any way seem to be appropriate. It appears that someone has advised the president that, under an Islamic constitution, the ruler becomes an autocrat and, though there is an advisory council, it is not necessary for the leader of the Muslims to implement its views and advice. The new bill for the political parties which lays

great stress on controlling political activities strengthens this suspicion still more. Similarly, attempts are being made to deprive political parties, as well as organizations of students and lawyers, of internal freedom. The real aim of the bill is to turn all the important social organizations into associations which, though able to express their views, cannot take decisive steps, allowing one person alone to exercise authority. God forbid. If ever such a plan exists then we would sincerely advise the president against implementing it and leave every issue connected with the constitution, including the question about an Islamic or un-Islamic constitution, to the elected parliament, as some work should also be done by the elected representatives of the people.

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PAKISTAN

GOVERNMENT URGED TO INFORM NATION OF BORDER CLASHES WITH INDIA

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Oct 85 p 10

[Editorial: "Government Urged Not to Keep Nation in Dark"]

[Text] Minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr Zain Noorani, has expressed regret and concern over the fact that although Pakistan has been going out of its way to improve relations and mutual peace and security with its neighboring country, India has never responded warmly and neither has it reacted positively like Pakistan. He said this in the National Assembly while expressing his views on a motion of no confidence. During this motion a question was raised with reference to the Radio Australia (report) that former President Nixon's plane was refused permission by Indian authorities to fly over its air space while on a visit to Pakistan. Mr Zain Noorani said that the Pakistani government has nothing to do with that matter and, if any government has extended poor treatment to Mr Nixon, it is only the U.S. government that should take notice. Mr Zain's reply no doubt resolved the motion of no confidence. But what is important and a matter of satisfaction is that an authorized government spokesman has for the first time been frank and straightforward in explaining the truth about the situation, whereas on previous occasions it has only been customary to say that "we long for it." In this connection, the communique issued by the spokesman for the ministry of defense deserves special mention in that it states that three Indian soldiers were killed in a border clash as a result of the violation of the control line in the Siary sector of the northern area by the Indian army. Reports about border clashes on the control line in Kashmir, especially the area of the Siachin Glaciers, are usually received from Indian sources, and Radio Moscow, BBC and other sources make the most out of these clashes. But this is the first time that the people of Pakistan have been informed of the real situation officially by the government. The people of Pakistan want peace and tranquillity on all borders, including the control line in Kashmir, but at the same time it is not proper to keep the nation in the dark, because only by being aware of the real situation can the nation apprehend and have a better understanding of the demands of the defense of the motherland and its own responsibilities. All the people of Pakistan are well aware of not only the unfriendly but aggressive designs of India, but they express their positive response only after the government reveals to them the real state of affairs. India is well versed in the art of turning its people into war lunatics and making a mountain out of a mole hill in their attempt to mislead the world. But Pakistan should not also adopt a policy of turning a mountain into a mole hill.

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CSO: 4656/11

PAKISTAN

DEMAND FOR SARAIKI PROVINCE DIVIDES PAKISTANI POLITICIANS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 19 Oct 85

[Article by Riaz Parvez: "Multan Diary"]

[Excerpt] Political activity has been banned for the last 8 years. Perhaps that is the reason that the demand for creation of a Saraiki Province has become strong in Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan divisions. Officials of the Saraiki Province Front, Qari Nural Haq Quraishi, Taj Mohammad Langa, Malik Mohammad Hayat Bhat and Mian Sajid Parvez, are particularly active in venting the frustrations of the region. These officials have demanded a Saraiki Province through pamphlets, posters and closed-door meetings. Even before this, certain unknown people had made this demand. The regionalism that conquered people's hearts as a result of political restrictions has lent particular strength to the demand for Saraiki Province. The dispute between Upper Punjab and Lower Punjab is being openly discussed these days. Officials of this Front have visited Sindh, Frontier Province and Baluchistan and had talks with the national and political leaders there. National Assembly member Malik Ghulam Martizi Khan has formed a Saraiki Province group consisting of National Assembly members. This group has the support of three National Assembly members from Sindh also. It is interesting to note that the district Leiah Province Front has also announced its merger with the Saraiki Province Front. Similarly, the Bhawalpur Province Front, while maintaining its identity, is supporting the (Saraiki) Front. In other words, there is now a demand for dividing Punjab into three provinces, Punjab, Saraiki Province (Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan divisions) and Mianwali-Khashab-Bahawalpur province.

The attitude of political leaders and political parties on this issue has taken a fantastic turn. It appears that as a result of restrictions on political parties, political leaders, instead of being concerned with Pakistan, are either giving more attention to regional slogans or they are indulging in chicanery. The provincial leadership of the Pakistan National Party has publically supported Saraiki Province. But the attitude of its central leadership is different. They say that by choosing a religious scholar (Qari Nural Haq Quraishi) as its president, Saraiki Province has betrayed the left. Their second difference is that Saraiki Province Front has made this demand on a regional basis and has made regional frustrations the basis for their demand, whereas provinces should be created on the basis of nationalities and languages. What is more, the Saraiki Province Front talks of Islam and ignores



Socialism. Recently, leaders of the Peasants and Workers Party met in Multan. There, too, Saraiki Province was opposed and it was said that if references were made to the "Multani language," "Multani culture" and "Multani nation," then they would support it. When Hanif Rai of the Equality Party came to Multan, he said in a statement opposing the Saraiki Province that this was the demand of a few feudalists and big landlords. But when he went to Dera Ghazi Khan, he took the stand that if this was a demand of the people of the three divisions, in that case he and his party would support it.

Tehrik-e Istiqlal's argument is: Why talk of Saraiki Province alone when our manifesto demands that every division be made into a province? Regarding Peoples Party leader Malik Ghulam Mustapha, it has been claimed that he completely supports Saraiki Province and has given assurance that when a session of the Peoples Party's Central Committee takes place, this issue will be raised there and he will obtain support for it on the party level. But the stand of Pakistan Democratic Party leader Nawabzada Nasirullah is inflexible and clear. He says: "Pakistan at this moment is at a critical juncture. Regional loyalties and disputes over language and culture will further hurt Pakistan's unity and security. Nevertheless it is essential to remove the frustrations of this region. Here mineral ores are in abundance. Industries should be set up here to provide people with jobs and rid the region of backwardness." According to Nawabzada Nasirullah Khan, the issue of Punjabi, Baluchi, Frontier man and Sindh is damaging enough to the existence of Pakistan, but these regional slogans are far more dangerous.

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CSO: 4656/17



PAKISTAN

PLEA TO END SPECIAL ALLOWANCES PAID TO TRIBAL CHIEFS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 9 Oct 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Tribal Regions and Modern Demands!"]

[Text] The Federal Minister of States and Frontier Regions, Sayed Qasim Ali Shah told the National Assembly during the question period that the allowance that is granted under the arrangement made by the Federal government to the Maliks and chiefs in the tribal regions is not as an award, but rather is given as compensation for their services regarding the development of those regions. The abovementioned minister stated that the number of Maliks receiving the allowance is 31,017. He did not, however, disclose the rate of the allowance, but, if such a large number receives only a few hundred or 1,000 or 2,000 rupees yearly, the total amount would reach tens of millions. The custom of granting allowances (pensions) to the Maliks and chiefs of the tribal regions dates back to the British era. After the establishment of Pakistan, however, special arrangements were made for the development and participation of every branch of those regions and, under the constitution, they have acquired representation in the National Assembly and the Senate. In view of that, it is a logical demand that, due to their participation and inclusion, neither should the tribal regions be exempted from the laws that are made for the entire country. The people of those regions are granted the opportunity to participate in all the semi official and official services including the armed forces. In the business of lumber, transport and contracts etc., they are taking an outstanding and substantial part in the whole country. In the official administration and the private sector, measures are also being taken to establish industrial institutions in those regions. All these steps demand that arrangements should be made to make the appropriate change and advancement in the tribal regions' old and traditional administration also. Action should also be taken to start handing over their administrative matters to the tribal people's own elected representatives instead of the hereditary chiefs appointed by the government. Certain sectors, too, of the tribal regions have voiced their demands along these lines. In order to bring them, in every aspect, into the mainstream of national life, this change is an important, or rather, an unavoidable requisite of the times, too. After abolishing the chief system in Baluchistan (though it is limited to formal proclamation only), arrangements should have been made, a long time ago, for reform and advancement on similar lines, in the tribal regions of that

area as well. Some people, whose interests are served by an old system, will dislike reform of the traditional regulations. There will be resistance also. However, problems will continue to arise by delaying, for an indefinite period of time, the change that is in the interest of the country and the nation and is demanded by the people. These regions, despite being part of the country, will remain separate (with all its implications) from the mainstream of national life.

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CSO: 4656/13

PAKISTAN

ASGHAR KHAN CRITICIZED ON SEPARATION OF RELIGION, POLITICS

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 21 Oct 85 p 3

[Editorial "Godless Politics"]

[Excerpt] Asghar Khan, the leader of the defunct Tehrik-e Istiqlal, reiterated in Lahore his views about the separation of politics and religion. The state, he said, should give all its attention to the solution of the people's worldly problems without interfering in religion. He further stated that the establishment of an Islamic state is impractical under the present circumstances.

Asghar Khan has not said anything new. Many so-called intellectuals down the centuries have made the mistake of supposing that in Islam too, like other faiths, politics can be kept separate from religion. Poor Asghar Khan is neither an intellectual nor a scholar of religion. After spending much of his life in flying in the air-force, he is now trying to fly in politics. We can understand his mistake. What surprises us is that Maulana Siraj Ahmad Dinpuri, who comes of a religious family and is the leader of the famous Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam, said in an interview he gave a weekly paper that enactment of Islam in Pakistan is an impossibility. When secular thinkers say such things we can ignore them, but to a religious leader who says such a thing we would like to direct this question: "Did your fore-fathers struggle all their lives to achieve a secular state? Did they deceive the Muslims when they said that they wanted to achieve an Islamic state?" We would ask Maulana Siraj Ahmad, Asghar Khan and others of their bent of mind to keep their ideas to themselves, and let the Muslims of Pakistan speak for themselves. Muslims all over the world want the rule of Islam. Are the unarmed Afghans fighting for a secular state? If a secular state had been acceptable to them, they would not care whether Daud ruled their country or the Soviets ruled them through Karmal. They could say their prayers in both cases. Again, if a secular state were acceptable, where was the need for creating Pakistan? Could not the Muslims follow their religion in united India? Those who recommend secularism are rebels against both Islam and Pakistan. People of Pakistan rejected them in the past, and will (with the grace of God) reject them in the future.

12476/12790  
CSO: 4656/18

PAKISTAN

POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON CAMPUS REVIEWED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 3 Oct 85 p 10

[Article by Dr Safdr Mohammad on the "Young People's Page": "Political Allegiances of Students"]

[Text] Before the creation of Pakistan, the Muslim League Party which was the leader of the Muslim movement for freedom established a branch among students called the Muslim Students' Federation. On December 29, 1937, Quaid-e Azam inaugurated the Muslim Students Federation in Calcutta and thus launched student participation in practical politics. Students played an important part in spreading and popularizing the message of the Muslim League among the people and students thus helped pave the way for the creation of Pakistan. After freedom, the muslim Students' Federation remained active as an organization for social welfare and rendered valuable services in the resettlement and welfare of refugees. But a short time after 1947, it lost its importance as an organization and the reason may have been that, after freedom, the Muslim League government opposed the participation of students in political activity.

Later, other parties entering the political arena tried to further the objectives of the opposition by gaining a foothold among students. Their intention was to use the ability and power of students for political purposes. The first and, to a certain extent, the only successful effort to establish a subsidiary organization among students on a national scale was made by Jamaat-i Islami. Later, the Awami League organized students in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) under the leadership of the late sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman. The National Awami Party (ABNAP) and such regional political parties as Pakhtun supporters and G.M. Sayed's Jai Sind movement also established branches in educational institutions. During its term of office from 1971 to 1977, the People's Party increased its influence among students and organized its student supporters under the flag of the People's Party Student federation. Since this federation enjoyed the full patronage of the government during those years, it posed a strong challenge to such right wing student organizations as the Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba, Muslim Students' Federation and Anjuman-e Tulaba Islam. Educational institutions became arenas of confrontation, and clashes and quarrels between opposition student groups became routine in colleges and universities.

Student organizations which are at present active and their parent organizations are listed below:

Islami Jameat-e Ulema  
People's Students' Federation  
Progressive/Liberal

Anjuman-e Tulaba-e Pakistan  
National Students' Federation

Muslim Students' Federation  
Istiqlal Students' Federation  
Jamiat-e Tulaba-e Islam  
Pakhtun Students' Federation

Jai Sind Student's Federation  
Progressive Students' Alliance

Jamaat-e Islami  
People's Party  
Independent, left-wing student supporters  
of the People's Party  
Jamiat-e Ulema-e Pakistan  
A left wing organization somewhat  
influenced by Miraj Mohamad Khan  
Muslim League  
Tehrik-e Istiqlal  
Jumiat-e Ulema-e Islam  
NAP/NDP/PNP  
NAP [National Alliance of Pakistan],  
NDP [National Democratic Party]  
PNP [Pakistan National Party]  
G.M. Sayed's supporters and disciples  
Independent, left-wing tendencies; earlier  
supporter of NDP, now ostensibly  
independent

The Jai Sind Students' Federation, Pakhtun Students' Federation (PSF) and Baluch Students' Organization (BSR) support regional autonomy for Sindh, the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan respectively. Occasionally, slogans for total independence are shouted in their gatherings. Last year, Jai Sind Federation students shouted slogans in support of freedom for Sind on the occasion of G.M. Sayed's birthday celebration held in his ancestral village. To a great extent, educational institutions in Sindh, especially those in Hyderabad and rural areas are under the influence of the Sindh students' Federation which receives guidance from Dr Hamida Khuro, Ghulam Mustafa Shah and fanatical Sindhi teachers in various educational institutions.

All these student organizations are formed on regional lines and follow the example of their political patrons. The Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba is the only student organization which has its root not only in Azad Kashmir but in nearly all the important educational organizations of the four provinces; thus this organization claims to be a national one covering the entire country. Undoubtedly, it has the best organization and pays particular attention to religious education and character building among students. The most important and strongest centers of this organization are in Karachi, Hyderabad, Lahore, Islamabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, Peshawar and, to a certain extent, Sukkur and Quetta. The student organization that supports NAP enjoys support and influence in Peshawar, Char Sadah, Quetta, and the remote areas of Baluchistan. In the last few months, however, the prestige and following of the Baluch Students' Organization has suffered considerable fluctuation. Because of differences and dissension among the ranks of the National Awami Party, PSO has thrown its support to Bazanjo and Mengal. The Muslim Students' Federation leans towards the right and supports the Muslim League; but it is neither fully organized nor does it enjoy a continuity of leadership and discipline. On the other hand, these are the prominent characteristics of the Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba. The student organizations of Tahrik-e Istiqlal, Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam and Jamiat-e Ulema-e Pakistan have not succeed so far in gaining a foothold among students. As far as Progressive and Liberal students are concerned, they are left wing and are divided into pro-Chinese and pro-Russian groups.

Except for Rawalpindi city where Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba is once again gaining strength, the group has not succeed in achieving any outstanding successes; it has, however, filled the vacuum created by the fall from power of the People's Party which gave rise to despair and dissension in the People Students' Federation. Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba supported the People's Party in Political campaigns. It is interesting to note that in student union elections held in education institutions in the remote districts of Punjab and Sindh, the great majority of student leaders elected were independent. Political and ideological struggles do not exist in these remote educational institutions. Their student leaders owe no political allegiances and are elected on the basis of their personal qualifications. During their election campaigns, they focus attention on the problems of their related education departments. This analysis has found another important trend in educational institutions; when politics was kept out of union election campaigns, a greater proportion of the students took part in the voting compared to election campaigns in other educational institutions where politics played an important part. In the latter, less than 50 percent of the students voted in their union elections. This fact shows that the greater majority of students in general avoid participation in politics. The following results of student union elections held in the provinces during 1978-79 illustrate the political thinking and tendencies among students.

Organization	President	Vice President	General Secretary	Joint Secretary	Total
1. Islami Jamiat-e Tulaba	30	28	31	30	119
2. People's Student's Federation	8	5	10	9	32
3. Progressive Liberal	15	14	10	12	51
4. Anjuman-e Tulaba-e Islam	7	7	5	7	26
5. National Students' Federation	4	4	4	6	18
6. Muslim Students' Federation	6	5	2	1	14
7. Istiqlal Students' Federation	-	-	1	1	2
8. Jameit-e Tulaba-e Pakistan	1	1	1	1	4
9. Independent	46	41	46	40	173
10. Unknown	29	31	32	25	117
Total	146	136	142	152	556

9863/12781

CSO: 4656/8



PAKISTAN

SINDH'S BACKWARDNESS DISCUSSED

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 7 Oct 85 pp 31-32

[Article by Iman Allah: "My Constituency is Pakistan's Ethiopia"]

[Text] Mr Ram Singh Soodha hails from Diplo in the Thar Parkar area. He has been practicing law in that area for a long time. He was educated at Sindh University and is 61 years old now. In 1979, he was elected to the Thar Parkar District Council. He is the president of Rajput Association of Sindh and a member of the District Advisory Council. Ram Singh is sympathetic toward Muslims and other minorities of his area. I met Ram Singh, who got 14,000 votes, in his village in Thar Desert. [His comments are summarized below:]

I have got into the Assembly by winning the election representing a minority. Therefore, I will try my best to get equal rights for the minorities and fight to bring their problems to the attention of the House.

My constituents live in a desert. When it rains, water accumulates in small ponds. People drink that water along with dogs and other animals. The same water is used for washing clothes. The rain water is the life of people there. There is no other source of water in that area. There is no hospital for 200 miles. My constituency is like Ethiopia. Every year thousands of animals die for lack of water and food. Still no government has ever paid attention to my constituency. In my opinion my constituents are still living like Stone Age people.

Thousands of people die of snake bites in Thar Parkar. The number of snakes in Thar Parkar can be more than the flies in the city. No government agency or hospital comes forward to help those people. No plan has been implemented to better our lives. I am requesting the Sindh government to consider us and our area a part of Pakistan and grant us the right to live properly and not to die weeping.

The agriculture in our area depends on rain. Lack of rain results in drought. Our area is abundant in minerals and the government should take advantage of those. There are several kinds of stone which are used for construction in other parts of the country. The profit from this stone, however, is not used for development of our region. I believe that we have the first right to these resources.

Thar Parkar region is mostly inhabited by poor minorities. Kohli, Pheer and Hindu minorities live in the remote deserts. We have no roads, while on the other side of the border in India transportation and communication are spread widely.

There are no schools or colleges in the Thar Parkar area. People who go out of the region for education cannot get jobs. I am appealing to our provincial and federal governments to pay attention to the people in the desert and give them the rights due them as Muslims and those promised by Quaid-e Azam. We are Pakistanis and want to live here as Pakistanis should.

I believe that the present government will take care of the problems in Sindh. I am satisfied with the promises made about Thar Parkar. As a state legislature, our hands are tied.

We are dependent on the bureaucracy. I hope some day we will also have some rights!

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CSO: 4656/14

PAKISTAN

HANEEF RAMAY'S STAND ON PUNJAB CRITICIZED

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 7 Oct 85 p 39

[Article: "Haneef Ramay's Stand is Simple Stupidity"]

[Excerpts] At a reception to honor Haneef Ramay, former chief minister and author of "Punjab's Case", several people expressed their opinions. Dr Mubassar Hasan said that Haneef Ramay's comments on Pakistan are noteworthy. He added that this was not just Pakistan's case but a universal one which required more discussions. He praised the author and encouraged him to work harder on his mission. He hoped that another edition of "Punjab's Case" will be printed soon. Professor Mohammad Usman said that this is not just Punjab's case but the case of all Pakistan! He added that martial law had made smaller provinces feel insecure and that this book was an appeal to protect Pakistan's unity. He further said that this book does not condemn Punjab's high handedness or incite provinciality.

Ramay has said that Pakistan's ideology cannot be defended until its borders are safe. He believes that the lifting of martial law is a must for protecting the rights of smaller provinces. He added that, unfortunately, most of the lawyers he met were either in the bureaucracy or the army. Therefore, he decided to take up the case himself. "I have prepared this case for political reasons, but have attacked Punjab so that it strengthens Pakistan so that the history of East Pakistan is not repeated," he said.

He added that, as at present, the military was in power when we lost East Pakistan. He further said he was offered many positions including the prime ministership to keep him in power. He informed us that he had invited Majeed Nazami to the reception so he (Nazami) could be acquainted with the truth. However, Majeed Nazami took Ramay to task about these "truths." Majeed Nazami said that there is a big gap between talk and action in our country. According to him, this has become our national illness. He gave the example of a person [Ramay] who is talking about Punjab all the time but did not even use Punjabi to address this reception. Mr Nazami added that reading "Punjab's Case" makes you believe that Ramay is Punjab and Punjab is Ramay. "I thought he was going to make a case for Pakistan, but he is expressing his pride over the bravery of King Porus [who fought Alexander the Great], telling us that women stopped giving birth to real men after Ranjit Singh's death, and the assassination of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale in Ameritsar as the latest example of political confrontation in Punjab."

Majeed Nazami said mockingly that he was no longer angry at G.M. Sayyed, whose hero is King Dahar. Mr Ramay now exceeds Mr Sayyed in this area, he said, since he considers the birth of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, founder of the Mirza sect, to be an auspicious happening!

He [Nazami] added that he has nothing to say if someone is proud of the era of paganism. According to him, being proud of Ranjit Singh and King Porus is sign of ignorance. He called the people who talk about the past "totally ignorant." He further blamed journalists and intellectuals for being immature. People, he said, are happy and satisfied when they are offered editorship, a cabinet post or chief ministership. When they are denied a position they become emancipators of the world. He added that bureaucracy and the military were essential for running a government in this age. Mr Nazami went on to claim that if Mr Ramay was sincerely interested in developing an ideal social system in Pakistan, he would get a lot of cooperation. On the other hand, said Mr Nazami, if he has nothing else to do except be proud of Ranjit Singh and Raja Porus, then he had better emigrate to the United States.

Mr Ramay's mention of his being proud of Porus, Ranjit Singh and Mirza Ahmad Qadiani recalled a 1973 CHATAN interview with Governor Mir Rasool Bax Talpore. Mr Talpore had asked jokingly if Punjab had given birth to any other leader than Ranjit Singh and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani. The interviewer was too embarrassed to reply to this question. Anyhow, Mr Nazami's speech really did put Mr Ramay on the spot since he himself had insisted that Mr Nazami attend the reception. Mr Nazami must have been looking for such an occasion to take Mr Ramay to task. We hope Mr Ramay is not deteriorating mentally. Perhaps this "Punjab's Case" is just an FIR [First Information Report] as Dr Mabassar Hassan put it. Nazami Sahib hit the nail on the head when he said that people should not act like emancipators when they lose power; they should look into the eyes of the one who took the power back.

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PAKISTAN

NWFP'S OPPOSITION TO KALABAGH DAM SAID UNJUSTIFIABLE

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Oct 85 p 10

[Editorial: "Why Oppose Kalabagh Dam"]

[Text] As the stage for the final approval of the Kalabagh Dam project by the federal cabinet is fast approaching, the way the elements traditionally hostile to Pakistan have become actively engaged in opposing this project of vital and far-reaching consequence gives the impression that some mysterious force behind it is using its opposition to exert pressure. Besides WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], international advisory organizations also have been evaluating this project which is now 30 years old. It has always been said and believed that the work on the Kalabagh Dam would be started after the completion of the Tarbella Dam project. But just as WAPDA announced that tenders would soon be invited for implementing the various constructional and technical aspects of the Kalabagh Dam, concern is being expressed that the water resources of the Kalabagh Dam would leave three-four districts of NWFP [North Western Frontier Province] under water and increase the risk of water logging. WAPDA had given facts and figures to remove these misgivings. In addition to the extensive and far-reaching advantages to be gained in irrigating all the four provinces, good news about an increase in the output of electricity by 2400-3600 megawatts had also been conveyed. WAPDA had clearly stated that areas that would come under water due to the Kalabagh Dam would be mainly areas covered by mountains and rivers and that the main areas of such land would be in the Punjab. But the elements actively opposing this plan did not give any importance to concrete facts and figures but increased their opposition for the sake of opposition.

What is most surprising is that the secretary general of Jamaat-e Islami and a member of the Senate, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, has said that the Kalabagh Dam is an important issue and does not consider it proper that discussion on this issue should be limited to giving statements in the newspapers but that he would be talking about it at the opportune moment from a suitable platform. But members of the Frontier assembly belonging to his party, in an emergency meeting held in Peshawar, criticized the construction of the Kalabagh Dam on the proposed site, calling the project a conspiracy against the people of the Frontier. The aim of this project in their words is to destroy the Frontier. When the elected members of the provincial assembly belonging to the Jamaat-e Islami are using such harsh and bitter language then the extent to which Mr Ghaffar Khan,



who at this age can hardly move and is totally dependent on the wheel-chair, can go does not need any explanation. His latest pronouncement is that "Mr Jinnah's Pakistan is finished." He further added that the government first of all deprived the Frontier of waters from Sindh and now we are being destroyed completely by construction of the Kalabagh Dam. Kahn Abdul Ghaffar Khan can say whatever he liked. He knows that the river coming out of the Sindh River at Pahar Pur has been supplying water to a large area of Dera Ismail Khan District for quite a long time. And now the Right Bank Canal, which is being dug at a cost of hundreds of millions of rupees and whose first stage is due to be completed next year, will irrigate hundreds of thousands of more acres of land in Dera Ismail Khan District. But like Hazara, Dera Ismail Khan has never approved his special policy, so how can he have any interest in the welfare and prosperity of the district in any way?

The first voice of moderation and sound judgement to come was from the provincial financial minister, Nawabzada Mohsin Ali Khan. Though he said that the Kalabagh Dam would benefit Punjab rather than Frontier in a tone echoing the chorus of the opposition, he also said that, by changing the site of the dam or by decreasing the altitude by 50 feet, a way could be found to remove the alleged threat to some of the districts of the Frontier Province. The circles opposing the Kalabagh Dam project on account of an alternate site of construction have been suggesting Bhasha as a suitable site. Conducting the necessary studies and assessments of Bhasha, which is at a higher level than Tarbella, will take another 10 years. Meanwhile, some circles believe that construction of a Bhasha Dam would not only be relatively less useful but would bring even the Qaraqurum Highway under water. But Mr Ghaffar Khan has said that he will not allow any dam to be constructed, not only at Bhasha but also anywhere else on the Sindh River. He has suggested that a dam should be constructed on the Wagah. In other words, he does not even seem to remember that his beloved country happens to be on the other side of the Wagah. The real and fundamental issue at hand is whether or not the country and the nation really need water. If not, then the government should give way to this sudden opposition and uproar. But if the country and the nation do and are in great need of water then the government should not be cowed by opposition for the sake of opposition. It is up to the experts alone to decide, while maintaining the usefulness of the Kalabagh Dam, whether or not it is possible to decrease the height of the Kalabagh Dam [reservoir]. It must also be kept in mind that there must be some justifiable reason for maintaining for the past 30 years that after the Tarbella, Kalabagh is the only and final site where a multipurpose dam can be constructed. After this, talking about making an assessment would mean finding out how many other suitable sites there are where small electrical water mills could be built over large rivers and streams or mountainous rivulets. Now in view of the greater demands for irrigation and electricity, the time has come to take positive action on this survey as well.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

CAR IMPORTATION--Regulations concerning the prohibition of car importation after 8 November by students who are studying abroad and permanent government employees was approved by the Council of Ministers. According to the ministerial resolution number 60378, dated 12 September 1985, Iran's Customs Administration is given permission to release on the basis of the past resolutions the cars that have entered one of the country's customs houses and that have been registered before the date 8 November 1985. This resolution supersedes all other resolutions approved prior to 8 November 1985, and from this date on students and permanent government officials are not allowed to import foreign cars into the country. The new resolution provides that qualified persons may receive an Iranian-built car if they possess a valid driver's license. [Text] [Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 16 Sep 85 p 2] 13024/12859

AUSTRALIAN IMPORTS INCREASED TENFOLD--As the Eleventh International Tehran Exhibition continued, ceremonies were held for Australia Day at the main exhibition hall, attended by Mr John Linder, Australian Ambassador to Tehran, and Movahhadi-Zadeh, Chief of the Iran State Commerce Company. John Linder began the ceremonies by announcing that Australia's presence at this exhibition shows the Islamic Republic of Iran's stability and shows the importance of economic progress for this republic's survival. During his talk he discussed Australia's commercial contacts with Iran. He said: Australia's commercial contacts with Iran have increased since the beginning of the revolution to the point that they have now reached more than 400 million dollars per year, and Iran is now Australia's second largest Middle Eastern market. He then discussed the types of goods Iran imports from Australia and said: At the present time Iran imports special crops from Australia, including agricultural implements, cane sugar, automobile parts, medical and hospital instruments, eyeglass frames, pharmaceutical raw materials, welding equipment and industrial security devices. In conclusion he said: Although the volume of these exchanges is relatively insignificant, it can in any case be the beginning of wide cooperation. At the same time there are possibilities for Australian participation in oil exploration and consulting services in various fields. Australian exports to Iran have increased ten-fold in the last ten years, going from 45 million dollars in 1974 to 421 million dollars in 1984. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 12 Sep 85 pp 1-2] 9310/13104

GDR'S EXCHANGE 380 MILLION DOLLARS--The East German Embassy's Commercial Attache in the Islamic republic gave a press conference at this country's booth at the Eleventh Tehran International Exposition and answered various questions from domestic and foreign correspondents. During this conference, which was also attended by East German booth director and press attache, Mr Kuhler, the Commercial Attache for the Democratic Republic of Germany answered a question on the talks currently being held between Iranian and East German delegations at the symposium at the Tehran Chamber of Commerce, Industries, and Mines. He said: These talks are revolving around achieving maximum expansion of commercial, technological, and manpower exchanges between the two countries. At the same time, ten representatives from various economic sectors and ten East German industrial specialists and their Iranian counterparts are holding talks. The aim of these talks is to increase for the 1986 fiscal year over the 1985 fiscal year. Noting that East Germany will buy a million tons of oil from out country this year, he said: Commercial relations between the two countries are based on barter. In conclusion he said: In 1985 this country bought around one million dollars in non-petroleum goods from the Islamic Republic of Iran, while the total volume of commerical exchanges between the two countries in 1984 was more than 380 million dollars. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 8 Sep 85 pp 1-2] 9310/13104

ROMANIA PROPOSES PETROLEUM PURCHASE-- In an analysis from Belgrade on the Romanian petroleum industry, the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY announced that adapting to the increased costs of energy and other raw materials is a much more difficult matter Romania than for other Eastern European countries, which are basically poor in energy sources. Difficulties in the petroleum industry may be one of the reasons production levels fell short of the levels specified in the 1986 five-year plan. As a result there is a stronger probability than ever that this country will not succeed this year in producing 12.6 million tons of petroleum. Elsewhere this analysis states that Romania's oil reserves are estimated at 214 million tons, but so far no results have been achieved for Romania in Black Sea oil exploration. Romania's oil income dropped from 36.59 billion dollars in 1980 to 25.57 billion dollars in 1982. The major exporters of oil and gas to Romania are the members of OPEC and the Soviet Union. Tangible increases are being made in Romania's oil imports from the Soviet Union. Romania imports 1.5 million dollars per year in oil from the Soviet Union. In 1980 the Soviet Union exported 1.4 million tons of oil to the Romania, and in 1981 it exported three million tons of oil to Romania. Among OPEC members, Iran has always been one of the chief exporters of oil to Romania. Iran's oil exports to Romania in the years before the triumph of the revolution were more than four million tons per year, and this figure dropped to 1.5 million tons per year after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution. Reliable sources say that Romania has recently offered to buy five million tons of oil annually from Iran. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 8 Sep 85 pp 1-2] 9310/13104

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